Second Chance Schooling in Greece:
A Policy Study, with Particular Attention to
the Situation of Teachers of English

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ABSTRACT

Under the influence of the European Union, adult education developed rapidly in Greece during the decade from 2000-2010. A significant element of this development was the introduction in 2000 of 'Second Chance Schools' which were established with the aim of combating adult illiteracy and social exclusion, promoting adult integration into the labour market and providing opportunities for adults to continue their studies in the formal educational system (European Commission, 2003). Teachers were seconded from mainstream education to staff these new Second Chance Schools.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the process and practice of Second Chance Schooling in Greece during the first decade of the schools' existence. The study focuses on the reasons why the schools were established and traces the trajectory of the development of the policy. It considers the experience of the teachers in the Second Chance Schools, as seen from the perspective of teachers of English. In particular, it considers the professional support and development of these teachers who were charged with breaking new ground in the Greek adult education system.

The fieldwork consisted of semi-structured interviews with individuals at different levels in the Greek adult education system: with the politicians who developed the ideas and oversaw the implementation of the policy; with the staff who were involved with the central administration of the policy; with the scholars and academic staff who made up the advisory team; with the training organizers, the discipline advisors, the regional advisors, and with the head teachers and the teachers of English in one of the regions of Greece (Eastern Macedonia and Thrace). A wider group of regional Second Chance School teachers were also surveyed. All available documentation relating to the national development of Second Chance Schools was scrutinised.

The analysis of these data revealed a complex picture that developed and changed as the decade progressed. There is evidence that the Second Chance Schools policy was well received and attracted new students into adult education. As such, it had a positive impact on social and cultural problems such as illiteracy, unemployment, and lack of social cohesion. However problems arose from the manner in which EU policy on lifelong learning was adopted without adaptation to the specificities of the Greek context. The political drive to access EU funding and accept EU definitions of the social and educational needs of the country resulted in insufficient analysis of the impact of the history and cultural context of Greek

adult education, regional political upheavals, immigration and the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. At the national level, therefore, I argue that the policy was insufficiently nuanced to be effective in serving the needs of Greek adult education. Furthermore, a unified generic policy for Second Chance Schooling across the whole of Greece was adopted. This in turn failed to recognise the regional variations within Greece, which, I argue, were of considerable significance to the implementation and ultimate success of the initiative. A further problem related to the Greek political process which produced frequent changes in leadership and a system that was highly dependent upon the individual in charge. Lack of infrastructural support for the policy and party political turbulence led to erratic development and changes of direction and emphasis which left teachers confused and ultimately, in many cases, demoralised.

At the school level, the policy challenged teachers of English to adopt new teaching methodologies, to take seriously the problems of adult drop-out students and debate how best to help them acquire their self-respect, stay in education and become European citizens. However, despite the fact that the need for teachers to be involved in intensive professional development was acknowledged at all levels of the system, provision of continuing professional development [CPD] was inadequate. Gaps between the rhetoric and reality of CPD provision were ignored; there was little evidence of rigorous evaluation and provision of relevant expert guidance which might have strengthened the system and maximised the investment that was being made in the schools. The realities of teachers' contractual and professional working conditions were not taken into consideration. The effect of this was that, although the majority of Second Chance School teachers had positive attitudes towards the Second Chance Schools policy at the beginning of the period, their enthusiasm waned over the course of the decade as the inadequacies in the support and training they received came to be understood as more than just initial start-up difficulties. Consequently the gap between an ambitious and initially well-funded national adult education policy and the realities of day to day practice in Second Chance Schools deepened.

This study seeks, through careful analysis at the national, regional and individual level, to contribute to an understanding of how this important initiative might have worked better in Greece. In doing so, it offers a case study of the implementation of a European educational initiative in an EU member state and

seeks to identify factors that will be significant to the development of policy in other contexts.

Acknowledgements

Without their love, I would have never been able to undergo this journey and finish it.

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Abbreviations

- AD Administration Staff (AD2, AD3, AD4)
- ASEP The Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection
- BERA British Educational Research Association
- CEC European Cultural Centre
- CEDEFOP European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training
- COM Communication from the Commission
- CPD Continuous Professional Development
- CV Curriculum Vitae
- EA English Advisor (EA1, EA2)
- EC European Commission
- EEC European Employment Strategy
- EES European Employment Strategy
- EKT European Social Fund
- EL English Language/ English Learner
- ELLs English Language Learners
- EP The Operational Program "Education and Life-Long Learning"
- EPEAEK Operational Program of Education and Initial Vocational Training
- EPM National Reform Program
- EQUAL An Operational Programme in Greece (2007-2013) for the Development of Human Forces and Developmental policy for Social Integration, Social Economy and Equality of sexes
- ESF European Social Fund
- ESL English as a Second Language
- ESPA National Strategic Reference Framework
- ESYE National Statistical Service of Greece
- EU European Union
- EYLLL European Year of Life-Long Learning
- FE Further Education
- FEK Governmental Gazette Sheet
- GDR Greek Drachmas
- GED General Education Programme
- GSAE General Secretariat for Adult Education
- GSLLL General Secretariat of Life-Long Learning
- GS General Secretary (GS1, GS2, GS3, GS4)
- HOU/EAP Hellenic Open University
- ICT Information and communication technologies
- IDEKE Institute of Continuing Adult Education

- ISPO International Student Placement Office
- KEE Adult Education Centre
- KEEENAP Centre of Distant Adult Education and Training
- KPS Community Support Framework
- L1/L2 Language 1/Language 2
- LLL Life-Long Learning
- LT Language Teaching
- NELE Prefectural Committees of Popular Training
- OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- OEEK Organization for Vocational Education and Training
- OLME Federation of Secondary Education
- OTEK Organization of Tourism Education and Training
- PEK Regional Training Centre
- PEKADE The Pan-hellenic Union of Teachers of English of Public Education
- PEP Regional Operational Programme
- PhD Doctor of Philosophy
- SCS Second Chance School
- SDE Second Chance Schools
- T Teacher (T1-T23)
- TEFL Teaching English as a foreign language.
- TESL Teaching English as a Second Language
- TESOL Teaching English To Speakers Of Other Languages
- TO/TRO Training Organiser (TRO1, TRO2)
- UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- WTO World Trade Organisation
- YPEPTH Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs

CHAPTER ONE: THE CONTEXT OF THE THESIS

Introduction

Socrates' famous saying "Γηράσκω αεί Διδασκόμενος" ("We live and learn") indicates the importance attached to gaining knowledge through the life span in ancient Greece. Socrates remains an inspiration centuries after he expressed this view. Nowadays, the related concept of learning 'from cradle to grave' is one of the basic pillars of socio-political growth and economic development. In recent years, one of the key concerns of the European Union has been the 'lost treasures of potential' among young people who have dropped out of school, potential which could have been unlocked and exploited for their own benefit (European Commission, 2001:7).

Within the general positive climate of empowering education in the 1990s, the adult education arena became one of the most important fields that most nations set their aspirations and wishes for improvement. Fighting social exclusion, reducing illiteracy and innumeracy, raising awareness of community cohesion and education for citizenship, reducing discrimination against ethnic minorities, gaining qualifications in a competitive world, increasing productivity, all together became the beast in the European arena that had to be fought for salvation and glory. All the European member states, plus the USA, Canada and Australia set similar goals of fighting social exclusion and improving the economies of their countries. In the case of Greece, one specific step in this direction was the creation of adult schools, called Second Chance Schools (henceforth SCSs). One of the main objectives of these schools is to integrate people who have dropped out of school or who have never had the chance to attend school, into mainstream education, business, and the local community (the European Commission, 2001).

In this introductory chapter I set out some of the background issues and problems that arose in implementing the SCSs in Greece, and I offer some insights from my own experience as a participant in the events. I worked in a SCS of Drama since its establishment (2003) as a teacher of English and as a head teacher for two years (2007-2009) before starting my thesis. I expanded the school with two more branches in distant rural areas in the region so that the school would reach the people who lived in remote places and could not easily access the centre. Having seen both sides of the coin, teaching and administration, I realised that there was a gap between policy making and

practice in SCSs. This gap manifested itself in two major challenges; first, in overcoming the resistance to re-entering education of adults who had had poor experiences previously and secondly in the capabilities of teachers who struggled to move from an authoritarian to a facilitating model of teaching. My thesis is about the second of these challenges and how training can help to overcome it. What was decided at the policy level had a broad aim of improving social cohesion and illiteracy and reducing drop-out but quite a few specifications were problematic in reality for the teachers, especially in rural areas where it was the first time adult schools were created. Moreover, it was the first time that the seconded teachers in SCSs were offered a CPD provision in the new field of adult education by IDEKE while teachers in mainstream education in Greece were provided with no CPD opportunities. I was particularly interested in this training which was offered as continuing professional development to teachers in adult education. The idea that adult education teachers also needed to acquire skills to be effective was new in Greece. This was the spark that initiated my study.

At the beginning of SCSs' institution, there was enthusiasm for the new school, the new methods, the humanitarian aim of the school and the new approaches. Later on, while I was working I noticed there was incoherence between a big vision and the operationalising of this by teachers. The reality we had to work with was demanding as it was the first time teachers had to find ways to attract people back to mainstream education by showing them how education could bring benefit to their lives. It was particularly difficult not only to attract people back to education but to keep them too, by trying to provide an understanding environment, a caring environment, a problem-solving environment that would help them overcome the inferiority feeling and get them ready to fly in their own way, at the right moment after having been initiated in wishing to learn as a way of coping with difficulties of life by acquiring the power of knowledge that would liberate them from the bonds of illiteracy. In order for the 'second chance' to be successful it had to be different from the 'first chance' in the traditional educational system. They had to discover the new knowledge through group work, projects, using technology and not being examined. The notion of teaching and learning, which was traditionally kept in their minds as remnants of the past, created resistance to the new teaching methods and they accepted the authoritative teacher, not the facilitator as it was required in the guidelines. According to the first SCS guidelines the institution of SCSs was of crucial importance for the Greek educational system to reduce the percentages of illiteracy in Greece and to give the possibility to Greek citizens to develop

personally, professionally and socially. Depending on this dual aim of both fighting illiteracy and developing students, the SCSs' teachers have a decisive role to play "in their majority coming from Secondary education, they have the experience of the 'school' reality, are sensitised to the problems [and many times to the deadlocks] of teaching practice and simultaneously they are willing to experiment, to reclaim the adult education experience and with flexible and 'open' pedagogic approaches to confront the adult students' needs. In SCSs a new professional educational profile is built, according to which the teacher has a decisive role in the formulation of the curriculum itself as well as the educational instruments that s/he uses in the teaching practice. We consider the upgraded role of the adult educator in these issues as a presupposition for a school that is based on face to face communication and the dignity of adult students" (IDEKE, 2003:11-12). Apart from these introductory comments there were no more specifications about how the teachers could approach the new ideology better.

Teachers had for the first time in their career to create the curriculum and being used to the centrally governed education system of secondary education where they belonged, were resistant to this out of uncertainty. They needed exact guidelines because they had been used to accepting instructions and going into classrooms to teach. Especially in teaching English, the difficulties of learning a foreign language, although accepted as important, were excluded from the students' range of action as they considered themselves incapable of learning. Teachers had to overcome all the difficult points that exist in adult education and a lot of unlearning was demanded on both sides. According to the first SCS guidelines (IDEKE, 2003:43-44) the adult educator would take care of reclaiming the variety of educational activities that can, with respect to the polymorphy of needs, keep students alert and allow further autonomous learning. S/he will support learning based on the experience and action; s/he will organise the learning incident in ways that allow open teaching in teams; s/he will involve cross-curricular/cross-scientific approaches, to the extent that the curriculum and cooperation with colleagues allows it. That is, s/he will create the motives that will allow the student to stand alone and to motivate his own learning ways (individual learning), but at the same time to plan activities that presuppose collective activity, common action, variety of aspects (group-cooperative learning). More than that, according to the needs that appear, s/he will focus on research methods, without mistaking the need that the students can sometimes express for more guided learning. The educator should support students either with indirect guidance (short suggestions, examples) or with the use of textbooks in the prospect of re-activating the students (exercises, experiment, research,

presentation)". Facilitative, innovative, and creative teaching was an expectation. On the other hand the policy makers presented SCSs as the new challenging schools that would solve the social problems of society: high percentages of illiteracy, dropping out and unemployment, and the achievement of inclusion and well-being. For the first time in the Greek education system, organised training was offered to teachers as a way of contributing to changing the identity of teachers and developing them professionally in adult education. It was considered the new venture in developing adult teachers in SCSs, a new school in a new field: adult education. However, looking at the issue as an insider, who was one of the first willing teachers to be exposed to the new promising experiment, I realised that it was big words in an empty space.

I am offering this perspective as a way of explaining the background to my research study and what led me to ask the specific questions I investigated. More than that, because I am an English teacher by background, the group of teachers I have focused on is English teachers. At a personal level I want my study to offer an insightful position towards how policy is created, understood and implemented in adult education and what constitutes an adult educator. It is the educator who has to adjust to the trends of globalisation, Europeanisation, to the national directives of adult education as a newly developed field in my country, as well as the local level and its specificities. Simultaneously, s/he has to consider the adult students' difficulties and peculiarities as well as the new trends of the knowledge economy that impose a rebranding of the professional identity of teachers by creating a fusion of changes in all spheres of knowledge, morality, mentality by control, management and audit. I want to justify the difficult position adult educators are in. They require more than subject expertise if they want to be successful. There should be a combination of cooperation at many levels of action: national policy, bridging the gap between policy making and teaching in action, dissemination of policy to teachers and explanation of all the pillars of innovation, research before, between and after implementation and feedback into policy for re-routing policy in the right direction. This specific study aims to give feedback on how the SCSs policy was created, understood and implemented at different levels in relation to the training of adult educators and their professional development.

Another important issue that has surfaced during the research process relates to my Greekness: I am tied to the Greek context, to the Greek way of thinking, to the Greek background. In the process of my thesis I had to cope with my inner

struggles by reflecting on myself and the cultural differences I had to cope with. My Greek excessiveness, the openness that is part of my Greekness did not always fit the austerity of English academic culture that expects researchers to be integrated, to be assimilated into it as expected; this creates contradictions and binary oppositions rooted in the personal which are also observable in national manifestations. I would argue that these national differences affected Greece's integration into European Union Policy, an issue I discuss later in the thesis. By studying in Britain I realised that I had the chance to recognise and realise certain aspects of my culture which could not have been realised if I had not been to another place and reflected on what is different, why it is different, why people react in different ways and why it is difficult to change our educational system in Greece. This study is about Greece in Europe, Greece taking up a European idea and going in that particular direction in terms of globalisation, internationalisation and, indeed, adoption of the same LLL policy of fighting social exclusion and dropping out. This links my own personal case to the bigger issue of the Greek situation. The Greek way of writing has held me back at certain points in relation to style, the whole culture of how I write, the flowery and excessive way of writing and the use of metaphors. It exists in my mind and I cannot take it and throw it away because I have been told that it is good writing and for writing this PhD it seems that a different kind of writing is needed. This is an issue that has caused me difficulties connected to the issue of detail and more important than that, to find a way to write in the right voice for me as a Greek woman as well as writing that fits the genre that is required. It was this cultural difference - this kind of cultural issue about having to work in another place and write in a different genre, suppressing the Greekness while expressing myself in English to be understood in a different mentality and try and catch that high level of genre writing that follows the norms of academic writing – that was important in helping me get into a new role that transformed a practitioner-researcher into an academic one. It was like having two identities I had to interchange in order to adapt to the right context and the right genre of writing in English and switching into different codes of understanding.

In the following sections, the context of SCSs will be outlined. Sections 1.2 to 1.6 describe the student population, the curriculum, the role of the teachers in SCSs, and training for teachers of English. Context-specific issues, such as coping with the students, teachers' and students' expectations, practical constraints in teaching are then discussed and how the need for the research emerged (section 1.7). In the final sections the focus and significance of the research and the

research questions are presented (section 1.8) and finally in section (1.9) the structure of the research follows.

1.1   Second Chance Schools in Greece

Second Chance Schools were implemented in Greece under the auspices of the General Secretariat for Life-Long Learning with the law 2525/ 1997 (Article 5). This gave adult students above 18 the opportunity to improve their qualifications and continue their studies in the formal educational system or be integrated in the labour market (European Commission, 2003). The schools were established with the cooperation of local government but fall under the supervision of the Institute of Continuous Education for Adults (IDEKE) and ultimately under the General Secretariat for Adult Education (GSAE) (Organisation and Function of SCSs, 2003).

These schools provide a second opportunity for people who could not complete their initial education to acquire a certificate of secondary compulsory education in two years (IDEKE, 2003). In addition to this limited, short-term function, the schools can also be seen as an attempt to initiate Life-Long Learning by re-linking those individuals with social, economic, educational and professional sectors of life (Vergidis, 2001). Their stated aim to be learner-centred, social centred and experiential is linked to adult education principles. Evaluation methods seek to develop a research spirit, meta-cognitive abilities, and the capability of solving problems. The greatest success of SCS is seen not in helping students to gain a certificate alone, but in the strengthening of self-respect and self-confidence, traits that are missing from SCS students when they enter the schools because of their social and financial background.

The first school was created in Athens in 2000, and over the period 2001- 2008, 57 SCS were established all around Greece in different phases of implementation, while more than 70 branches or satellite schools were created in distant places in order to increase access for those living in rural areas and on the islands.

1.2. Student population

In Greece, students in SCSs are in the main adults who have dropped out of the basic educational system of secondary education for financial, personal, behavioural or family reasons, or because they had learning difficulties (Kassimati, 1998; Nikolopoulou, 2001; Spinthouraki et al, 2008). One of the

tasks of the schools is therefore to help students to overcome their experience of failure or bad memories of specific traumatic incidents at school. Their life deprived them of school in their childhood and now they had the chance to sit at desks. As Benekou (2006:27) states in an article with the title "The bell of second chance" describing the population at SCSs:

> They are people of labour who either left school to work, or because they did not manage to meet their needs, or because their destiny suddenly changed their route and they found themselves today looking desperately for a job without having the high school certificate, in a harsh job market, or they found themselves feeling the need to fulfil the repressed dream of studying in a school.

This is the reality at the Greek SCSs but it depicts the population of similar schools and institutions all over Europe.

During 2008-2009, in the 54 prefectures in Greece (table 1.1), there were 5,206 students in SCSs, and table 1.2 shows the diversity of the student population in SCSs.

Table 1.1 Student population in SCSs in 2008-2009 (Source: GSAE Data)

School year	2008-2009		
Prefectures	54		
Total students	5,206		
Sex	Men	2,699	51.85%
	Women	2,507	48.15%
Age	<20	220	4.2%
	20-24	687	13.2%
	25-29	941	18.1%
	30-44	2,488	47.5%
	45-64	832	16.0%
	≥65	38	0.7%
'Special Population' Groups	Employed	3,212	61.7%
	Unemployed	1,100	21.1%
	Housewives	399	7.65%
	Retired	89	1.7%
	Unclear employment status	406	7.8%
	Romanies	51	0.95%
	Prisoners	360	6.9%
	Immigrants	125	2.4%

	Repatriates	48	0.9%
	Muslims	408	7.85%
	Special needs	46	0.9%

Between 2005 and 2009 a total of 15,447 adult students attended SCSs (table 1.2). Of these, 48.4 % (7,475) were male, 1.3 % (200) were Romanies, 7.45% (1,150) Muslims, and 2.2% (344) immigrants.

Table 1.2 Statistics of Special Population Groups in SCSs from 2005-2009 (Source: GSAE Data)

School year	Men	Women	Total Students	Roms	Muslims	Immigrants
2005-2006	1,304	1,701	3,005	25	133	56
2006-2007	1,687	1,950	3,637	36	273	79
2007-2008	1,775	1,803	3,578	88	336	82
2008-2009	2,709	2,518	5,227	51	408	127
Total	7,475	7,972	15,447	200	1,150	344

1.3   Curriculum

The programme lasts a total of 18 months (two school years) with 25 hours of lessons per week, from 16.30 to 20.30 or 17.00 to 21.00. According to the official site of the general secretariat of adult education (http://www.gsae.edu.gr), the curriculum includes the following:

1.   The development of skills in the Greek language, mathematics, social sciences, the English language and communication through ICT. These skills are taught for three hours each per week.

2.   Development of skills in the domain of science and environment, each taught for two hours per week.

3.   Basic training and preparation for professional life in cooperation with local authorities. This is taught for one hour per week.

4.   Personal interests of the people being educated, such as, music, theatre, etc. Art Education one hour per week.

5.   Workshops and projects for three hours per week.

6.   Counselling on psychology and job matters one hour per week for students who needed it.

The curriculum of SCS is significantly different from that of secondary education in terms of its underlying principles, contents, teaching methods and evaluation of students (Jansen, 2000:4). The SCS gives an emphasis on socialisation of students, creating links between their life and education, and improvement through the process of learning (Anagnou & Nikolopoulou, 2007). For that reason it is not exam-oriented. There are no exams at school, participation is more important and it is learner-centred. The curriculum is based on material created by the educators according to the needs of the group of students at each level (Mitsikopoulou & Sakelliou, 2006). There are no specific books to teach in SCSs, while in secondary education the use of books is a must. The notion of 'literacies' is introduced in SCSs, while in secondary education there are more traditional 'subjects' (Dagdilelis & Hodolidou, 2003; Hodolidou, 2003; Hondolidou, 2003). Basic knowledge and skills such as reading and writing in Greek, practical arithmetic, knowledge of a foreign language, and the use of computers are the core of the curriculum of SCSs. Developing these skills is the priority of the programme. In addition, students are helped to respond to the demands of different aspects of life. The workplace, the media, advertising, natural sciences and politics demand various skills from today's citizens so that they can communicate effectively, both in writing and orally. The relationship between students and teachers is different to that in secondary education, requiring educators to both teach and socialise their students through learner-centred teaching methods.

According to the documentation about the curriculum of SCSs, important elements in differentiating the process of learning from that in secondary education are the following: multi-literacy, cross-curricular projects, utilization of non-formal knowledge by the students, active participation of all the students in the process of learning, and individualised programmes (Organisation and Function of SCSs, 2004:articles 3, 7).

1.4   Evaluation of students

According to Margara (2005), the evaluation of students at SCSs is descriptive instead of being based on grades. The idea is that the failure that students had undergone through their school years because of assessment and grades should

not be repeated at SCSs. Through class discussion, projects, portfolio, self-evaluation, peer-evaluation, and involvement of students in critical thinking, students are evaluated descriptively on how much they participated in the projects set by the teachers and how involved they got in them. On the whole, the qualitative descriptive evaluation of students depicts the process of each student with positive comments, encouragement for development or repetition of positive points. The criteria for the evaluation of SCSs students are the following:

1. Cognitive criteria: Performance and Acquired Knowledge.
2. Skills and Competence: Cooperation, Initiative.
3. Behaviour: Interest, Participation. (Organisation and Function of SCSs, 2004: article 12).

The absence of grades is intended to make students feel safe and keep them in the school system. However, one effect may be that students think that they will pass their school year with no special effort.

1.5   Teachers

According to the law on the organization and function of SCS (http://www.ideke.edu.gr/sde/nomos.htm accessed on 14/7/2006 article 8.3) the teacher should not simply teach but also function as a researcher by diagnosing the educational needs of the students, and develop a curriculum proposal in cooperation with designated academic advisors. On the basis of this diagnosis, this proposal should include topics that the students need to have lessons on, creation of the syllabus to be taught and suggested lesson plans. Teachers are asked to plan and produce teaching material or adapt and exploit the existing material, to search for material relevant to students' needs and find ways of solving problems, to socialise the students, and to evaluate the students' process of learning. The role of teachers is thus seen as very important in SCSs (Vergidis, 2003):

1. They continuously identify the educational needs of the students.
2. They check the achievement of the educational aims and redefine them.
3. They improve the curriculum.
4. They attend to the development of the students and their involvement in teaching and in the activities.
5. They individualise the process of learning according to the starting point of each student.
6. They use alternative evaluation criteria.

7.   They encourage the involvement of the students in the educational process.

The teacher thus has a fundamental role in transforming drop-outs and illiterate people into literate, committed adults. The relationships between teachers and pupils in the Second Chance Schools are seen as a key ingredient in their success. http://www.e2c-europe.org/

Three main criteria are emphasised in Second Chance Schools as the basis of teacher qualifications and competence:

1.   To be well qualified in a specific discipline or vocation;

2.   Excellent social competencies: character, patience, communication skills, strong personality, open-mindedness, rapport;

3.   A "big heart" for this target group (Jansen, 2000:12).

According to another commentator, teachers at SCS should develop a positive environment which will encourage the students to 'learn how to learn', have a good relationship with their colleagues, and know how to use the New Technologies so as to be able to communicate with colleagues in the European schools but with no existence of a European Network of SCSs (Katsikas, 2006).

The following criteria are used when considering applications for employment at SCSs in Greece (percentages indicate the weighting of each criterion):

1) University Studies count for 36%
- 30% at the typical system of education,
- 2% for being involved or having any experience in adult education,
- 2% for computer knowledge and
- 2% for knowledge of foreign languages with certification,

2) Publications, presentations in conferences and seminars count for 10%.

3) Participation in conferences and seminars counts for 4%.

4) Work experience counts for 30%
- 12% teaching in the main educational system: primary or secondary education,
- 12% in adult learning and
- 6% for other work.

5) Interview counts for 20%.

What is striking about these weightings is that study of adult education counts only for 2% and experience in teaching in any form of life-long learning for only 12%, though these two forms of experience are highly relevant.

Most teachers employed in SCSs have come to SCS by the same route, having applied for a secondment from their post in a secondary school (Organisation and Function of SCSs (2004: article 9: secondments of educators). During the school year 2008-2009 493 permanent teachers from secondary education were employed by IDEKE and 717 temporary staff was employed on an hourly basis.

1.6   Training for Teachers

IDEKE, the section of GSAE responsible for the implementation of SCS, implemented training sessions once or twice a year for all SCS staff, giving general guidelines on teaching methods, confronting problems and evaluation. These training sessions provided workshops for each speciality of teachers. Generic training sessions were provided by IDEKE mostly in Athens and Thessaloniki, not in all schools, and not on the same dates. Taking the situation for teachers of English as an example, the first time training sessions were provided for teachers was in 2004-5. There were training sessions twice a year (e.g. 6-7 November 2004 and 28-29 January 2005 in Athens) but later on only once a year. These training sessions were generic and transmissive in nature. The topics included teaching methods for adults, group work, projects, and materials or good practice as demonstrated by some teachers (appendix I). As a participant, my own view was that the most enjoyable and fruitful part of these training sessions was peer work in workshops for each subject where teachers had the opportunity to exchange ideas or share common difficulties.

Another dimension of the training sessions was the fact that for the first time there was in-service training for teachers who were working in the schools, in big hotels in big cities, with all expenses paid while in mainstream education no training was offered (Taratori-Tsalkatidou, 2000). It seemed to me that there was a feeling of taking part in an important new venture and of IDEKE catering for the teachers and the new schools. In terms of content, though, these programmes did not cover the issues that most concerned teachers. The teachers that I met said: adult education was a new field for most of them, and the training sessions did not tend to deal directly with the problems they faced in their new roles (Albanti, 2006).

In addition, most schools were co-financed by the 3rd Community European Support Framework which provided 75% financial support and the Greek state which provided 25%. Training sessions for teachers depended on European funding and support for combating illiteracy, and when there were financial

constraints or no funding at all, as happened after March 2008, there was no training. The training was not provided in all areas of Greece and some teachers in rural areas found it extremely difficult to reach the training centres in Athens or Thessaloniki. The training did not cater for all teachers' needs, permanent and temporary; it did not cover initial and in-service training and did not recognise that the needs of the teachers are different at different stages of work in SCSs.

1.7   Problems and difficulties in Second Chance Schools

I would argue that the basic prerequisite for ensuring effective educational interventions in adult education is the training of adult educators. Adult students react differently from children. Adult students have experience of life and they build new knowledge on that experience by accepting what is relevant to their life and to their needs. They return to education determined to gain the prestige of knowledge or the passport to a better kind of employment. Adult learners might be constrained by their physical abilities, tiredness or their financial and/or family problems, but when they are offered knowledge and skills that are useful and enjoyable to learn, they can feel satisfaction and an increase in their self-esteem. They need respect but sometimes problems can be created in classrooms because tiredness or their own problems cause them to cross the limits of respect and good behaviour (Rogers, 2002:236-252; Alexander & Langer 1990; Birren & Schaie 1990; Gibbs et al, 1982; Gross, 1987; Storant et al, 1989; Tennant 1988).

In my experience, friction is also caused by the variety of people and the fact that they might not all be aware of what behaviour is expected. The teaching situation is demanding because the cultural differences of all the people who participate need to be accepted and respected; and some of the students might have difficulty accepting that others' needs and aims are different. There are also cases of people who had dropped out of school because of traumatic experiences in, for example, English or mathematics so there is sometimes great resistance to learning specific subjects. Apart from the diversity of adult classes in SCSs, students have different starting points, different purposes in learning, and different speeds of learning; they are sometimes affected by physical difficulties or learning difficulties. My own experience suggests that an effective learning environment, new motivating techniques, more communicative methods and more participatory lessons through the involvement of the students are generally required for the specific adult learners.

Particularly for teachers of English in SCS, there may be some extra difficulty because teaching a second language to adults presupposes both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation on the part of the students. However, the teachers of English have to take into account all the above mentioned points of physical, learning difficulties, behaviour problems, disruption of attention caused by acute family or work conditions and teach them English in the most pleasant, persuasive, and effective way. The teaching situation in SCSs is, therefore, quite demanding. The teachers of English at SCS are obliged to create their own material for each level and for each different group, taking into consideration all the above parameters. In addition to that, in the Greek "market", there are very few simplified materials or course books which could be used for teaching false-beginners or complete beginners which are adapted to the needs, interests and level of students of SCSs and the Greek culture. The creation of new materials for students, adapted to the needs of the students, and the parallel creation of the curriculum with the limited know-how about how to do it created a lot of frustration and anxiety for teachers in SCSs.

Students' notions of teaching and learning were, in my experience, often based on past memories of teachers who sat at their desks, who were strict authority figures. Their expectations of how they would be taught and what they would learn were in conflict with the new approaches to teaching and classroom management such as project work, cross-curricular projects, brainstorming, pair-work and team work.

Teachers' expectations of the students, based on their experience of teaching children and teenagers, were also at odds with what they found. In secondary education teachers simply had to follow the curriculum and the course book and the regulations of the school; in SCSs they had to use their own initiative. They had been used to being sent to positions as technicians who had the skills to fix something and then go. In SCSs they had to use intuition, imagination, artistic talents, to be creative, to show social abilities, to reflect with their students, with their peers once a week, and with themselves, and they had not been used to that. They were naturally unused to the innovative aspects of the new schools. There was no testing, and no feedback on difficulties of teaching. The general administration was at a distance (IDEKE in Athens) so all the practical problems such as gaps in staffing, delays, misunderstanding of what and when to do, new teachers, old teachers, the creation of the curriculum, the creation of new material, new teaching methods, problems with specific students, coping with difficult cases, coping with absence and flexibility of registering absence created a

great many problems. Decisions had to be taken instantly but there was no immediate answer or feedback. At the level of implementation, the system was full of holes and the absence of professional support was, in my experience, a repeated issue on the lips of the teachers.

1.8   My research

As someone who has been a teacher of English in Greece for 24 years and involved in adult education since 2003, English language teaching to adults really matters to me. At the very beginning, I was curious to see how adult students learn a second language, and later on, I focused on their learning difficulties, which I investigated in my MA dissertation (Albanti, 2006) for the Hellenic Open University (HOU). Most of this experience was built up in the specific context of Second Chance Schools. Through my involvement in SCS both as a teacher and as a head-teacher for six years, I realised that although the institutional framework of my particular institution seemed well-organised, the implementation and the real conditions of Second Chance Schools were quite different.

In official documents SCSs were presented as if they were European institutes, striving towards changing the route of traditional education with new flexible curricula, new teaching methods, new specifications, and enthusiasm for initiating a new field of education. Despite all this excitement about teachers in a new challenging setting, it seemed to me that the SCSs were trapped in the pitfalls of the innovation. The reality of implementing changes in the system was quite demanding: having to cope with new issues that arose from the student population, old habits in the traditional education system, inflexibility, resistance to change and unwillingness to understand the nature of the new endeavour. One of my underpinning aims for my own research was, therefore, that it should provide an informative base for the development of policy and practice.

For Greece to be in tune with the European Community's directions concerning Life-Long Learning it is necessary to map out a national strategy that is based on the training of the teachers and the stakeholders involved for a qualitative upgrading of the educational system of adult education.

The following research questions therefore constitute the main framework of the study:

1) What were the aims of the policy to develop Second Chance Schools in Greece?
2) How did the policy and the schools develop in the decade 2000-2010?
3) What is the experience of teachers of English in SCSs in 2010?
4) What professional support is currently provided for teachers of English at the Second Chance Schools?
5) What kind of theories of literacy and pedagogy do the English teachers use in their classrooms?

Life-Long education is a vast field in a worldwide strategy of economic, social and cultural policy focused upon individual employability, social integration and inclusion, a function of welfare reform (Griffin, 2002) or in terms of human and social capital (Schuller and Field, 2002). It also carries more humanistic traditions of liberal adult education (Jarvis and Parker, 2005). Publications like *Adult Learning: It is never too late to learn* (EC, 2006) and *The European Social Agenda* set out aspirations to reduce inequalities and promote social cohesion, social inclusion, active citizenship and personal development, competitiveness, employability, through Life-Long Learning (EC, 2001:8-9). Yet, it is also the case that:

> Adult learning has not always gained the recognition it deserves in terms of visibility, policy prioritisation and resources, notwithstanding the political emphasis placed on lifelong learning in recent years. This dichotomy between political discourse and reality is even more striking when set against the background of the major challenges confronting the Union. (EC, 2006:3)

This research seeks to recognise the importance of adult education and enhance its visibility whilst exploring some of the problems of implementation in an ambitious initiative in Greece.

1.9   Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. This first chapter has described the creation of SCSs in Greece, their aims, their operational framework, the teaching context and its difficulties. The focus of the research has also been presented.

Chapter 2 sets out a theoretical framework for the study. It constitutes a critical review of the relevant concepts and perspectives that characterise the area of study. In the first section, the literature review is concerned with a general background of adult education in Greece and how it developed from folk

education into adult education; in the second section with the European Union and its policy effect on developing Life-Long Learning; and in the third section with literature review on the inspiration and the development of SCSs in Greece.

Chapter 3 presents the literature review on policy development, being based on Ball's theory. Issues such as the need for educational reform at the macro level, effects of Globalisation and Europeanisation on educational policy, knowledge economy, policy discourse changes, policy interpretation, teachers and policy, the discourse of professionalism, the professionalization of adult teachers and language teaching are explored.

Chapter 4 describes the research design and methodology. It outlines the merits of a qualitative method design. First the research design is described while secondly the key ideas of the theoretical framework on education policy and professionalism of teachers are presented. Then issues pertaining to data collection, data analysis, reliability, validity and research ethics are discussed.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the data collected during the study through semi-structured interviews with the key players of adult policy making: the four general secretaries of adult education in Greece during the decade 2000-2010. Interview data was compared with official documents written during their tenure.

Chapter 6 presents and discusses the data gathered through semi-structured interviews with the two English coordinators or advisors who were responsible for training and offering advice to teachers of English in SCSs all around Greece, from 2004-2008. Interview data was compared with official documents written during their tenure.

Chapter 7 presents the data gathered from the twenty-three teachers of English who worked during 2003-2011 at different SCSs both as permanent and as temporary staff in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, in Northern Greece. They were interviewed in their schools in their seven cities where the SCSs were implemented.

Chapter 8 offers an analysis of the implementation of the policy for Second Chance Schools in Greece, dealing with different levels of the policy issues such as the perceived need for educational reform in adult education in Greece and what the aims of the institution of SCSs were at the macro level, how they were affected by the notions of globalization and Europeanisation; how the discourse on adult education changed through the decade 2000-2010 in Greece and what the social, economic conditions were like. It considers the development of this

policy of remediating disenfranchised people back into education and how it actually worked, separated into four periods of action at the national level. Later on, the focus of attention narrows down to the effects of the specific policy at the micro level with individual teachers, their training and their de-professionalisation. Finally the findings are summarized, conclusions drawn, limitations of the research acknowledged and recommendations made for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLING IN THE ADULT EDUCATION CONTEXT

Introduction

In Chapter 1 I have established the context and motivation for the thesis. I now move on to consideration of the literature in the field. To this end I will begin by focussing on the issues in adult education in Greece; the review will then broaden out into a consideration of Europe, the European Union's role that affected adult education and transformed it to Life-Long Learning; and finally the establishment of Second Chance Schools in Greece.

2.1: A historical overview of adult education in Greece

Education in Greece has experienced reformations that have been the consequences of political upheavals, wars, and political changes:

> The development of adult education in Greece has been closely linked to socio-economic, ideological and political factors. Ever since the modern Greek State came into being, the need to induct people into a homogeneous citizenry with appropriate skills to enhance productivity and to foster patriotic sentiments became an educational must (Tsamadias & Arvanitis, 2008:125).

The first effort for adult education in Greece dates back to 1929 (Law 4397/29). Adult illiteracy was a big problem at that time which the government of Eleftherios Venizelos tried to face. By this law, night schools were established aiming at offering primary education to individuals having exceeded the statutory age of schooling in primary schools as well as agricultural schools operating on Sundays and holidays. The adverse economic conditions at that time did not allow for the wide expansion of such institutions. The Second World War and the civil war subsequently did not favour the development of an adult education system, although in 1943 the occupation government set up the Directorate of Training in the Ministry of Education, geared mainly towards propaganda (Hasiotis:2012) *http://news.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_ell_2_01/07/2012_487564*, ;Vergidis, D. (1994). Moreover, in the same era resistance organisations made significant efforts, mainly for farmers' education and training. Ideological homogenisation and a compensatory rationale characterised adult education provision since the 19th century (Kalantzis & Cope, 2003).

In 1954 the Central Committee for Combating Illiteracy (Law 3094/54) was established in the Ministry of Education; other similar committees were also established in the country's prefectures. Their mission was to set up night schools for the compulsory schooling of illiterate and semi-illiterate individuals up to 20 years of age and the optional schooling of adults at more advanced ages. In addition, centres were established to deliver lectures to civil servants; such centres displayed an enhanced, enlightening attitude. According to Vergidis (1999:27-29) "All these activities lacked range, although the need for education and training was already great, mainly because of the inability of formal education to respond to the demands of the labour market, the mass participation of women in the workforce, the presence of socially excluded groups and the increasing unemployment rate of younger people". In 1965 the Central Committee and the Prefectural Committees for Combating Illiteracy were renamed the Popular Education Central Committee and Popular Education Prefectural Committees respectively; their composition changed but not their operational framework. Amongst the duties of the Popular Education Prefectural Committees lay the care for enrolment and attendance in Night Primary Schools as well as holding exams put in place for the acquisition of a degree in Primary School for adults who had not finished it. After the extension of the 9-year compulsory education, the mission of Popular Education Prefectural Committees was broadened offering general content training.

According to Kokkos (2008a:3) adult education in Greece was not an institution inscribed in the collective culture and social practice of its citizens unlike in other countries in Europe. "Up to 1980, the activities of adult education were in an 'embryonic' condition- related mainly with illiteracy and extension education, while the public discussion and the scientific inquiry about the process of education beyond the formal school system was simply non-existent" (Kokkos, 2008a:3). Only 1.2% of the Greek population attended non formal adult education programmes while the European Union average for the same age group that is considered the productive age (25-64 years) was 8.5% in 2002 (Commission des Communautes Europeennes, 2003:25). Vergidis (2005), Karalis (2006), Kokkos, (2005, 2008b) some Greek experts in the field, justified this phenomenon to five interrelated factors:

- Until the fall of the dictatorship (1967-1974) in 1974 there were long periods of political dominance by conservative powers, a condition that was not fertile for the development of educational activities towards the emancipation of citizens.

- The weakness of the social and syndicate movements throughout the 20th century in Greece that contributed to the deferral of the need for educational activities by the society.
- The vast majority of Greek businesses are family managed, have a traditional character and low competitiveness resulting in little attention being given to human resource investment.
- The dysfunctional characteristics of the state organisations which are responsible for adult education (centralisation, bureaucratization, low service quality).
- The low quality and inefficiency of the institutions which provide adult education services.

In the mid-1970s, the Institution of Popular Education was revised. A Directorate for Adult Education was created in the Ministry of Education while the Operation Regulation for the Education Centres was issued. Greece became a member of the European Economic Community in 1981 and major funds came from the European Social Fund (ESF). This funding fuelled an expanding interest in adult learning and encouragement and support of activities that resulted in an increase of the offered programmes, especially from 1989-1993 through the First Community Support Framework. Since 1981, the institution of Popular Education has constituted the main pillar of training policy, while the new Operation Regulation for Popular Education placed emphasis on participatory learning processes. In 1983, the Directorate for Adult Education was upgraded to become the General Secretariat for Popular Education of the Ministry of Education, and jobs for permanent staff were created (Law 1320/83). Similarly, a radical reorientation of the institution and its objectives at central and regional level was attempted. Posts for special associates were created, who staffed the Popular Education Boards of Popular Education Prefectural Committees. Moreover, programme contracts were concluded with local government for the implementation of the General Secretariat for Popular Education Programmes. In 1985, the new Operation Regulation for Popular Education (article 20, FEK 794/t.B/31-12-1985) and in 1989, the Organizational Chart of the General Secretariat for Popular Training was issued, determining the structure and duties of such bodies, being valid even today. Adult education provision in Greece was mainly run by the public sector up until the 1980s, although numerous private providers emerged after 1990 due to European funding, but with no proper regulatory framework (Vergidis & Prokou, 2005).

In the 1980s, therefore, the General Secretariat for Popular Education offered adult general education training programmes that were related to civilisation, culture, social economy-entrepreneurship, civics, programmes for disabled people and foreign languages. Through the Popular Education Prefectural Committees they organized socio-cultural actions aiming at the personal development of the citizens through their conscious and energetic participation in the social and political milieu and the creative use of leisure time (General Secretariat of Popular Education, 1985). During this period 350 Education Centres operated all over Greece (Karalis and Vergidis, 2004:180). According to table 2.1 there was a rapid increase in the number of participants in Popular Education which rose from 69,594 in 1980 to 213,000 in 1985. At the level of the prefecture there was the possibility of organising both vocational training and cultural and social issues as pre-training programmes that comprised the 61.9% of the activities. These activities aimed at introducing students to a vocational field: horticulture, silviculture, apiculture, pisciculture, repairing and maintenance of agricultural machinery, training of hotel staff, production and standardisation of products, typing and short-hand, construction of traditional furniture and musical instruments, woodcarving, pottery, ceramics, making jewellery, cutting and tailoring, embroidery, knitting and weaving. The rest (34.6%) covered cultural and social content: relations of children and parents, gender equality, photography, dancing music, traditional dancing, and painting (Kokkos, 1987: 21-25). Funding of Popular Education increased significantly (from 150,000,000 GDR or 440,205 Euros in 1980 to 3,245,377,261 GDR or 9,524,218 Euros in 1984) drawing funds 55% mainly from the ESF (European Social Fund) (Pesmatzoglou, 1987:278).

Table 2.1: Participants and funding in popular education in the years 1980 – 1985: (Source: Karalis & Vergidis, 2006; Kokkos, 1987)

Year	Participants	Funding (in Euro)
1980	69,594	440,205
1981	213,476	7,929,626
1982	265,567	6,065,726
1983	197,896	8,142,221
1984	210,000	9,524,218
1985	178,068	8,683,358
1980-1985 average	213,001	

Kokkos (2008a) argues that this was a short period of innovation that was not enough for quality change and that two significant problems emerged: a) the dysfunctional public sector (with the Ministry of Education exercising authority over the Secretariat, the Prefectures that employed the Popular Education Advisors were 'suffocating' any innovative actions); b) the traditional teacher-centred mentality which fostered for decades the adult educators of that period. In an evaluation report on Popular Education (Vergidis et al, 1983) the authors stated that "in almost all the learning sessions we attended we had the opportunity to observe a very strong trend of reproducing the traditional school system model and a lack of connection between training and the local social and economic problems. The very same space where teaching was taking place and the attitude of the trainers was evidence of a significant domination of a pedagogical work of 'knowledge transmission'". In spite of the negative aspects, Popular Education incorporated the spirit of social change theory, diffusing ideas like those of Paulo Freire and the critical theory of the school of Frankfurt. The apex of this diffusion was Paulo Freire's visit to Greece and the discussion of his theory with Popular Education staff.

1986 was a turning point in the history of adult education in Greece with dramatic changes. ESF changed its priorities, by turning to vocational training after 1989 when the First Community Support Framework (known as Delor I) started. The Greek governmental policy followed all the directions of the ESF literally so as not to lose its funding and in order to positively denote its European orientation. Within a conservative society and political life, the support for Popular Education stopped. Table 2.2 indicates the decrease both of the activities and the funding, cut down to one third of what it used to be during earlier years.

Table 2.2:Popular education: participants and funding during 1986-1999 (Sources: Karalis & Vergidis, 2006, p. 48, 51, 55).

Year	Participants	Funding (in Euro)
1986	97,216	7,106,726
1989	78,587	4,899,005
1992	59,120	4,464,308
1995	20,032	4,691,503
1999	15,886	3,060,158

All the relevant literature (Karalis & Vergidis, 2004, 2006; Efstratoglou, 2004; Palios (ed.), 2003; Kokkos, 2005) says that the period from 1986 to about early 2000 was an infertile period for adult education in Greece. Kokkos (2008a) named it the 'stone age'. Both UNESCO (1997:12, 1999:134) and OECD (2003: 40) commented on the lack of co-ordination in educational and scientific activities and of a connection between vocational training and employment. According to Kokkos, (2008a) the following problems of that period had an effect in the progress of adult education:

- the uncritical quantitative extension of educational activities when the relevant educational institutions had insufficient knowledge and human resources to respond to the emerging needs,

- the irrational use of the available funding,

- the lack of properly trained adult educators,

- the low quality of the relevant public services.

Kokkos (2004:6) insisted that:

> ...Greece was ill prepared for the venture. There was no central planning, no coordinating body, nor compound legal framework to define suitable institutions and proper standards for education. Therefore, various institutions, usually neither qualified nor effective, actualised a multitude of programs, while, at the same time, an overlap of roles and a waste of resources was observed.

Faced with this situation, the European Committee demanded stricter standards for the programmes, and most importantly, that institutions providing training should be accredited. On the other hand, the funding continued through the Second Community Support Framework (1994-1999). At the beginning of the 1990s, Vocational Education and Training constituted a top political priority due to the changes in the global labour market and the co-financing capacity of the European Social Fund for Programmes addressed to young people and adults. The aim of the official bodies of the European Union was the enhancement of employability, competitiveness, social cohesion and active participation in civic life. In the context of these new guidelines, the Popular Education Boards were abolished and the General Secretariat for Popular Education and the Popular Education Prefectural Committees were granted the possibility to subsidize, with national participation, bodies implementing programmes for human resources development, abiding by the European Social Fund financing specifications. In 1994 the Popular Education Prefectural

Committees were transferred to the prefectural administration being established at the time and moreover, the General Secretariat for Popular Education undertook the implementation of training programmes for the unemployed announced by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, the Manpower Employment Organization and the Ministry of Justice. In 1995, the Institute for Continuous Adult Education and the Vocational Training Centre of the General Secretariat for Popular Education were set up. In 1997, in an effort to improve the basic knowledge and skills of young people and adults, the Second Chance Schools were instituted, attended by adults who had not completed the nine-year compulsory education. In 1999 the Hellenic Open University started its operation offering its service to adult university studies.

2.1.2 Adult Education after 2000

In the framework of the Lisbon Strategy (2000), Life-Long Learning constituted a guiding principle of educational policy in Greece and a key element of the European Employment Strategy (EES). It allowed for the ongoing updating of knowledge, improvement of qualifications and adjustment to the continuously evolving labour market requirements. It highlighted the recognition and validation of formal and non-formal learning of young people and adults, as a possibility to facilitate Life-Long Learning's dissemination and expansion. Kokkos (2004:1 & 6) advocated that:

> In Greece, in the same period of time, training programmes have increased dramatically, mainly due to the significant funding of the European Union. However, the country was ill prepared for such a large-scale venture. As a result, shortcomings in the quality and organisation of training programs were unavoidable. Nevertheless, some important steps towards the modernisation of the field have indeed been made...So, at the end of the 1990s the governmental regulations were proven insufficient to substantially improve the situation. Under this light, it is not surprising that in the year 2000 the European Committee made recommendations towards Greece.

The then Commissioner Anna Diamantopoulou, later a Minister of Education, gave a press release stating that lack of strategic planning and the low quality of programs were still an issue: "Greece should adopt an overall strategy for lifelong education, including goal definition; it should further improve the quality of education and vocational training, in order to enhance the workforce's qualifications" (Greek press, "Ta Nea" 6/9/2000; Diamantopoulou, 2000).

Until 2000 there was only one undergraduate programme related to the field of adult education (at the University of Macedonia, since 1996), one graduate

program (at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, since 1997) and a few other courses dispersed in various programmes all over Greece. More than that, according to the records of the National Documentation Centre, until 2002 there were only three doctoral dissertations implemented in the field of adult education. Another interesting outcome from a research study by Sipitanou & Papaconstantinou (2004) was that among 62 faculty members who taught subjects relevant to adult education in Greek Universities between 1985 and 2003, only six were hired initially to teach adult education issues. The rest 56 were hired to teach courses like Pedagogy, Psychology, Sociology, Linguistics, Counselling, etc. This indicates the arbitrary nature of the field of adult education in the Greek universities, a situation which was apparently connected with the incomplete and confused comprehension of the content and the function of adult education in Greek society. This was also emphasized by two evaluation reports on the mediocre accomplishment of the Centres of Vocational Training (Efstratoglou, 2007:25). The second report indicated that only a few adult educators were trained to teach adults and six out of ten had not acquired a sufficient level of know-how to enable them to do anything other than foster a reproduction of the traditional way of teaching (Kokkos, 2008b). In addition to the above points, the lack of scientific dialogue in the field was also supported by the records of the Educational Bibliography Review, a publication of the Greek Pedagogical Institute which indicates that from 1992 to 2002 only 33 scientific papers about adult education were published in Greek educational journals.

In this context, in 2001 the General Secretariat for Popular Education was renamed the General Secretariat for Adult Education (GSAE) by Law (2909/2001, Article 3). The GSAE took over the planning, coordination and implementation of adult training operations and actions at national level to counteract illiteracy and increase participation in compulsory education. Moreover, it was decided that the Institute for Continuous Adult Education (Law 2009/2-5-2001) would offer technical and scientific support to the programmes of the General Secretariat for Adult Education and the Life-Long Learning operations; in other words, the Institute for Continuous Adult Education would manage and implement the General Secretariat for Adult Education policies from community and national resources. Since 2003, two more basic structures of the General Secretariat for Adult Education started their operation: Adult Education Centres and Parent Schools. In 2008 the General Secretariat for Adult Education was renamed into General Secretariat for Life-Long Learning and its scope was broadened (Law 3699/2008).

It is notable that apart from the major shift in 1986 from popular education to vocational education, the other major shift happened during the decade 2000 to 2010 and to be more specific, from 2004 to 2008. It can be characterised as a boom period 'with a sequence of vigorous steps' (Tsamadias et al., 2010:151) because of the attention to issues of social inclusion, fighting social exclusion, developing economic growth and social welfare. Greek society was changing rapidly during this period: immigration increased (Siassiakos et al, 2007:7); Greece became a destination country for migration as it is explained later in this chapter; there were different manifestations of social unrest and the problems of illiteracy were foregrounded. LLL was, to some extent, perceived as a solution to all these problems and there was a flurry of activities in setting up provision such as SCSs. Additionally, in the above mentioned period (2004-2008) an increasing number of adult educators became conscious of their role and their professional identity and sought to improve their training through either the Hellenic Open University or the Hellenic Adult Education Association. The latter is a non-profit organisation aiming at developing the field of adult education both scientifically and professionally, improving the teaching skills of its members and reinforcing communication and solidarity among its members (Kokkos, 2008b).

The promotion of Life-Long Learning therefore constituted a high priority for the Greek State during 2004-2008, taking into consideration the European policies in this area. In this context the necessary legislative provisions were developed to reinforce Adult Education, to strengthen the role of the General Secretariat for Adult Education and to regulate the different types of Life-Long education and training providers. The Educational Act 3369/6-7–2005 "For the systematization of Life-Long learning" defined Life-Long education as an activity across people's life-span aiming at both the acquisition and the improvement of general and scientific knowledge, skills and competencies as well as personal development and employability. The Law 3577/2007 defined the decision-making bodies with regards to technical and developmental works implemented by GSAE. In addition, common Ministerial Decisions and Presidential Decrees defined the jurisdiction of the GSAE such as the foundation of additional programs, namely Adult Education Centres (KEE), Second Chance Schools (SDE), Parent's Schools and Greek language knowledge programs for migrants and the nationals of third countries, to enable them to apply for a permanent visa. Finally, a new legislative regulation was introduced to ratify the renaming of the GSAE to the General Secretarial of

Life-Long Learning, something that changed the name of Ministry of Education to Ministry of Education and LLL in 2010 (www.eurydice.org).

The basic premise of the Life-Long Learning sector was that all citizens in Greece of 17 years and above had the opportunity, regardless of their socio-economic situation, level of education, country of origin, religion and place of residence, to develop their personality, to acquire modern knowledge and skills and to actively participate in the socio-economic context free of cost (Tsamadias et al. 2010). Since 2004, the adult education services provided by the GSAE had been reformed, upgraded and increased. This growth was enabled by financing from the European Structural Funds and mainly from the European Social Fund (EKT) in the context of the 3rd Community Support Fund (KPS), but also the Community Initiatives (EQUAL).

The major strategic priorities for adult education during 2004-2008, according to the Confintea national report on Greece 2008, were the following:

1. The creation of a common registration for GSAE adult trainers under the banner of the Organisation of Vocational and Training (OEEK) so that a unified and certified registry could come into force.

2. The connection of the adult education sector with the formal educational system and the job market.

3. The promotion of strategic planning for the 4th programmatic period (2008-2013).

4. The promotion of a System of Quality Assurance, Program Evaluation and Certification.

5. The growth of collaboration with the Ministry of Labour and Social Insurance.

6. The finalisation of the operational charter and building infrastructure of the Life-Long Learning Research Centre - "Aristotle".

7. The constitution (with special Decree) of the National Library of Life-Long Learning in Chalandri Educational Centre-Attica and its sub-division, the Special Library in Sapes-Thrace focused on issues of socially sensitive groups.

8. The operation of the "Museum of Life-Long Learning History" in Orchomenos-Voiotia.

9. The expansion of infrastructure with new buildings.

10. The development of a National System of Learners' Assessment and Certification.

11. The modernisation of the Distance Education On-line Platform and the creation of 13 nodes of delivery in the capitals of all 13 Prefectures with 12 additional nodes in the islands and the border prefectures.

12. The national certification of all Life-Long Learning providers under the auspices of the National Committee of Life-Long Learning (the national authority for Life-Long Learning accreditation). This also includes the Registration of Institutions and Structures and the formulation of common remuneration teaching rates (www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008).

The specifications of the European policy required that the total population should have access to the educational services via a system of Life-Long Learning, which promoted quality, social cohesion, equality, employability and accountability. Simultaneously, therefore, many educational policies were developed that affected Adult Education such as:

- The Operational Program of Education and Initial Vocational Training (EPEAEK) 2000 - 2006 that was approved in March 2001.
- The Operational Program (EP) "Education and Life-Long Learning" emphasized 4 goals, namely "Growth - Competitiveness- Education- Employment" (YPEPTH- EU, 2007).
- The National Reform Program (EPM) 2005-2008 for the Growth and the Employment highlighted the importance of developing the knowledge society.

Priority was given to human capital investment; there was an increase in public expenditure for education and reinforcement of the need for flexibility and cohesion of the educational system (Liargovas & Andreou, 2007). There was also a strong push towards the improvement of quality and effectiveness via decentralization, the reduction of bureaucracy, the evaluation on all levels of education, and research and innovation. The utilization of new technologies in administration and in pedagogic development was encouraged through a holistic national Digital Strategy. Life-Long Learning was advocated as the basic governmental strategy in order to ensure both the provision of knowledge that shaped the personality of the modern active citizen and the acquisition of skills that would improve accessibility in the job market as well as reduce structural unemployment in Greece (Tsamadias and Arvanitis, 2008; Siassiakos et al. 2006).

These strategic directions and choices had been shaped in the context of a concrete developmental model that had been adopted by the Greek Government

for the Knowledge Society and Innovation, as it was described in the National Strategic Reference Framework (ESPA) 2007-2013. ESPA allowed 3.3 billion of Euros of public investment for education (via the EP Education and Life-Long Learning and the PEP of period 2007-2013). The thematic priority of ESPA's developmental strategy was the "Society of Knowledge and Innovation" (Greek Government Gazette, 2008; 2005).

Not everyone agrees about this boom period. Kokkos (2008a:10) for example maintains that "the problematic situation of adult education in Greece has not been transformed radically in the last years (2000-2008). Greek government policy did not indicate any special interest in this sector and as a result the trends of the previous decades continue to prevail". Other expert commentators suggest that there is much empirical evidence to support the idea of this period as booming for the sector (Prokou, 2008; Efstratoglou & Nikolopoulou 2008). Indeed, elsewhere in his writing Kokkos himself acknowledges this to be the case (2004). Diagrams 1 and 2, (Confintea National Report on Greece 2008) show the rise in budgets for the GSAE; the funding spent on adult education was bigger than ever in the Greek history of adult education coming both from the Greek State and the European Union and a percentage change of +312.3% between 2000 and 2007. The first diagram indicates the development of funding allocations in adult education while in the second the exact amounts are referred to as they came from the national investment budget and the European Union.

Diagram 2.1 The diachronic development of GSAE budgets. Programmes and finally technical/construction projects. Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008
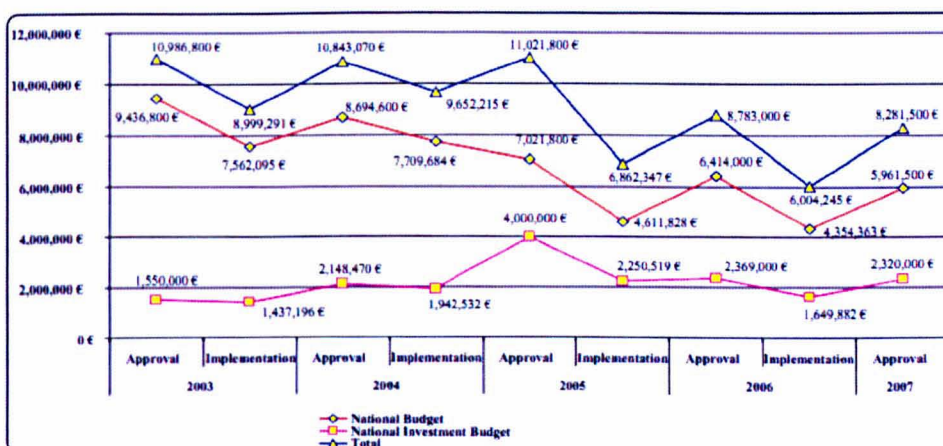
Diagram 2.2: The diachronic development of the Greek State and European Union Resource Allocation for 2000-2007 for education and training work. Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008

Diagram 2
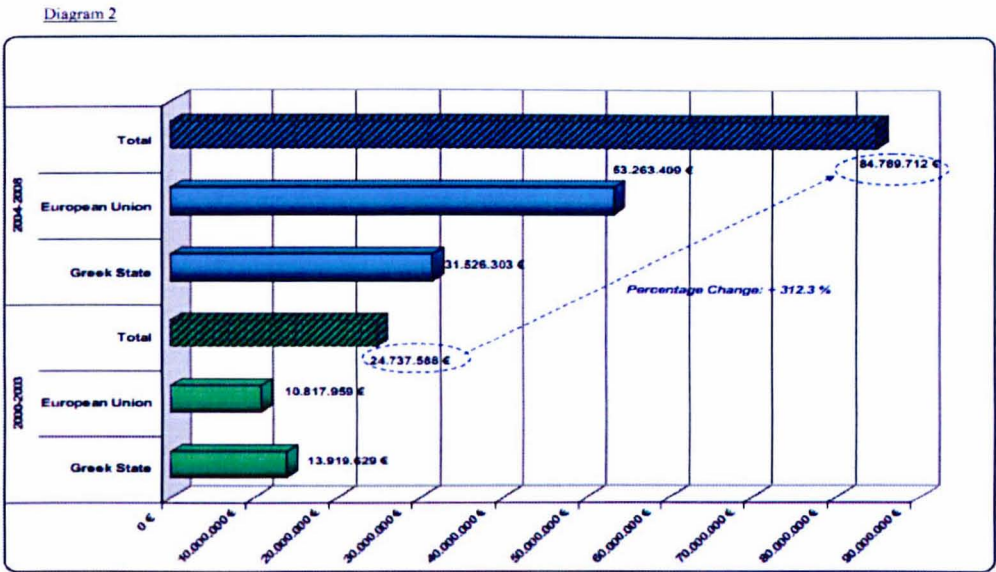
Table 2.3: Total participation in adult programmes for Greece. Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008

Trainees in the Educational Periods 2000-2001 till 2006-2007 and Available Positions of Education for the Educational Period 2007-2008

Structures & Autonomous Programs	Educational Period				Total (2000-2004)	Educational Period				Total (2004-2008)	Total (2000-2008)
	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004		2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008 *		
Total of trainees through the Structures	40.701	30.606	35.424	50.773	157.504	65.347	113.586	109.124	128.998	417.056	574.560
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					•	165%				
Total of trainees through the Autonomous Programs [1]	0	0	120	240	360	2.316	56.167	46.420	37.016	141.919	142.279
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					•	39322%				
Total of trainees through the Autonomous Programs [2]	0	0	120	240	360	12.316	97.042	100.796	127.016	337.170	337.530
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					•	93558%				
Total of trainees [1]	40.701	30.606	35.544	51.013	157.864	67.663	169.753	155.544	166.015	558.975	716.839
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					•	254%				
Total of trainees [2]	40.701	30.606	35.544	51.013	157.864	77.663	210.628	209.920	256.015	754.226	912.090
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					•	378%				
Ratio (%) according to Target-Population [1]	0.6%		0.4%	0.5%	0.7%		0.9%	2.3%	2.1%	2.3%	
Ratio(%)according to Target-Population [2]	0.6%		0.4%	0.5%	0.7%		1.1%	2.9%	2.9%	3.5%	
Target-Population: Citizens aged 18-67	7.361.535										

Source: G.S.A.E. (Provided by the G.S.'s Office)

Note *: The data state available positions for education until June 2008 [funded by the 3rd Community Support Framework]

Note (1): Total not including the training program "Health Education"

Note (2): Total including the training program "Health Education"

In table 2.3 and the following diagrams 3 and 4 statistics showing attendance or participation in adult programs are presented. It is shown that 417,056 citizens were educated during 2004-2008; compared to 157,504 citizens educated during the period 2000-2004, there was a percentage increase of 165%. Table 2.3 presents the total number of adult learners in Greece during the educational periods 2000-2001 until 2006-2007. In addition, it presents the available educational places for the educational period 2007-2008. It is evident that 754,226 citizens were educated in the programs of the General Secretariat for Adult Education (GSAE) during the educational period 2004-2008, compared to 157,864 citizens educated during the educational period 2000-2004 (Total percentage increase 378%).

The institutions providing this adult education included Second Chance Schools (SCSs), Centres of Adult Education (KEE), Parents' Schools, Prefectural Committees of Popular Education (NELE), The Centre of Long-Distance Training of Adult Trainers (KEEENAP), the Plato training Centre and the Centre for Educational Training. The Autonomous Programs included: HERON, ISIODOS, Volunteerism, the Learning of Greek as a second language for working immigrants and Health Education. GSAE in order to facilitate access to its programmes cooperated with local authorities, signing contracts with municipalities in order to use local premises for the delivery of courses, aiming thereby to increase participation (Siassiakos, Theodosopoulou and Tsamadias, 2008: 414). Table 2.4 presents the total learner population for Greece during the period 2000-2001 and 2006- 2007 as well as the available learning positions for the period 2007-2008 in the GSAE providers. These sources clarify the fact that the total number of adult learners that participated in Autonomous Programmes during the educational period 2004-2008 was 337,170 citizens, compared to 360 citizens in the period 2000-2004 (percentage increase 93,558%). Diagrams 3 and 4 present the progressive development of the total population and the target population.

Table 2.4: Structure of the G.S.A.E.-Total for the country. Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008

Trainees during the Educational Periods 2000-2001 till 2006-2007 and Available Positions of Education for the Educational Period 2007-2008

Structures	Educational Period				Total [2000-2004]	Educational Period			2007-2008 *	Total [2004-2008]	Total [2000-2008]
	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004		2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007			
Second Chance Schools	36	235	439	1.119	1.829	2.225	3.146	3.361	3.849	12.581	14.410
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					*	588%				
Adult Education Centres				10.507	10.507	24.798	69.531	72.178	86.840	253.348	263.852
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					*	2311%				
Centre of Educating-Training Adults from a Distance "Archimedes"					0			788	1.738	2.526	2.526
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					—	+ ~				
Parents' Schools				4.514	4.514	5.647	16.323	11.618	11.954	45.542	50.056
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					*	909%				
Prefectural Committees of Popular Training	40.665	30.371	34.985	34.618	140.639	32.677	24.281	21.181	22.518	100.657	241.296
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					-28%					
Centre of Educating Adult Trainers - "Plato"					0				2.100	2.100	2.100
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					—	+ ~				
Centre of Vocational Training				15	15	0	305	0	0	305	320
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					*	1933%				
Total of trained people through the Structures	40.701	30.606	35.424	50.773	157.534	65.347	113.586	109.124	128.999	417.056	574.560
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:					*	165%				
Ratio (%) according to Target- Population	0.6%	0.4%	0.5%	0.7%		0.9%	1.5%	1.5%	1.8%		
Target-Population: Citizens aged 16-67	7.361.535										

Source: G.S.A.E. (Provided by the G.S.'s Office)   Note *: The data state available positions for education until June 2008 [funded by the 3rd Community Support Framework]

Diagram 2.3: The progressive development of the total number of learners.
Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008
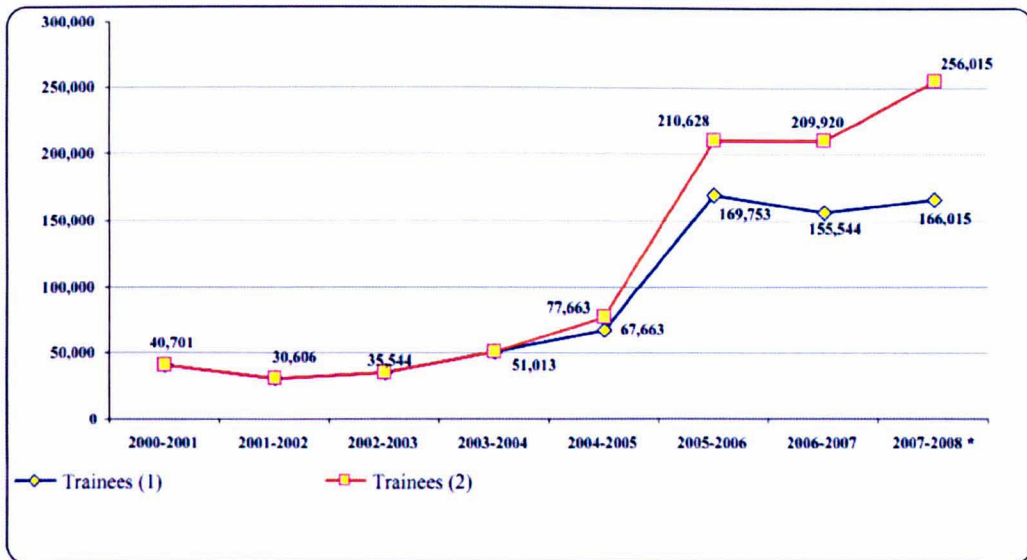
Note *: Available educational places until June 2008
Note (1): Except educational places of the «Health Education» program
Note (2): Including educational places of the «Health Education» program

Diagram 2.4: The progressive development of the total percentage of the target population. Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008
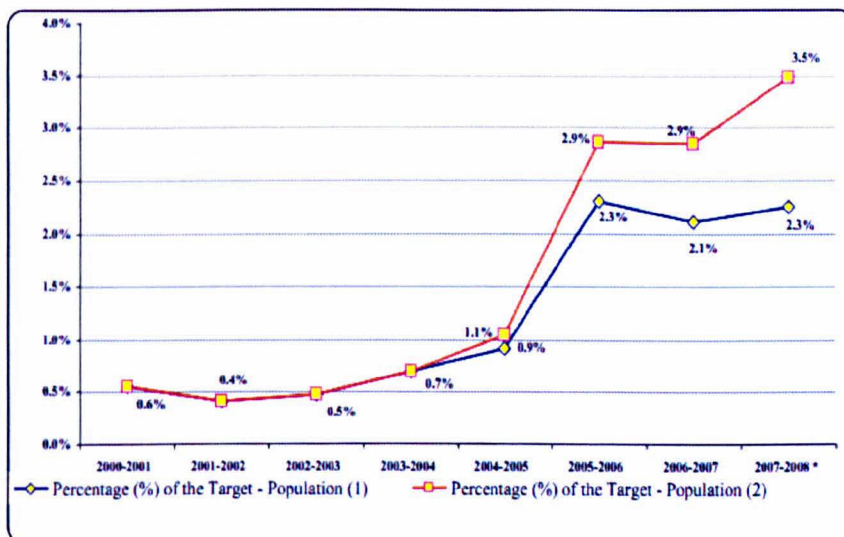
Note *: Percentage (%) of available educational places until March 2008
Note (1): Except educational places of the «Health Education» program
Note (2): Including educational places of the «Health Education» program

The Program of Public Investments included all the co-financed actions from the European Social Fund, in the context of EPEAEK. The Community Support Framework, as the biggest developmental program of the country, was implemented with financial resources from both the European Union and the Greek Government. These resources were utilized for the creation of new infrastructures. Comparisons are made between the period 2000-2003 and 2004-2008. If the above diagrams 3 and 4 and table 2.3 (in relation to funding and participation) are compared with the previous decades in tables 2.1 and 2.2 then it is evident that adult education was really a priority in the educational policy in 2004-2008.

According to another source: "during the period 2004-2008 an overall 110 million Euros were allocated by both the European Union and the Greek State in building infrastructures and equipment for adult education providers" while 400 units operated across the country (Tsamadias & Arvanitis, 2008: 129) which was impressive for Greece at that point but very low against the European benchmark for 2010. According to the same source "official EU figures for 2006 show a very low (1.9%) adult participation rate (age 25-64) in Greece compared to the EU benchmark for 2010 (12.5%)...revealing a slow progress". This led the Secretariat to develop a mechanism to ensure consistency, transparency, quality and accountability of educational providers: the National Quality Assurance Framework was established and piloted during 2006-2008. Self evaluation procedures were designed and implemented for programmes following nationally recommended program evaluation standards and procedures (Kalantzis & Arvanitis, 2006; GSAE, 2007). Some observers (Paleocrassas 1997; Solomon, 1999) have commented on the hesitant and resisting culture that emerged and characterised the stakeholders as slow in implementing the evaluation procedures during the pilot period. They explain that this is because generally the Greek educational system is lacking of shared, accepted and integrated principles of quality.

In October 2009, elections changed the political scene and the entire Life-Long Learning strategy - the applicable legislative framework, the policies and the programmes destined for education, training and vocational training of young people and adults - were reviewed. The document regarding new principles for Life-Long Learning was brought up for public consultation in February 2010 so that citizens could contribute to the planning and creation of the Life-Long Learning National Network, individually and collectively, through political, social

and trade associations (Retrieved from https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php/Greece:Adult_Education_and_Training on 05-12-2011).

In the next section, a description of a combination of social issues that urged for solutions through education follows.

2.1.3 Inequality factors and adult education

According to Spinthouraki et al. (2008) "Traditionally, social exclusion in Greece has been linked to specific categories of susceptible groups of the population, such as:

•economic underprivileged groups,

•single parent families and orphans, and

• "handicapped" (mentally and physically)".

During the 1980s, additional groups of excluded people emerged (Kassimati 1998):

•repatriates, immigrants,

•prisoners, ex-prisoners,

•young delinquents,

•drug users, former drug users, ˘

•people living in remote areas,

•people with specific cultural and religious characteristics,

•people with special needs

Arguments about inequality of educational opportunities, which resulted from social inequalities, provided the basic arguments and rationale behind the educational reforms in the beginning of the 21st century. This was supported by the Community Support Framework in 1985.The European Union emerged as the main financing power affecting the development of new educational policies. Greece had previously been a relatively homogeneous society in terms of population, but in the 1990s the social landscape changed a great deal. Greece

was transformed from an emigration country to a reception country, experiencing the accommodation of 600,000 immigrants after the economic crisis in the Balkan countries (Kiprianos et al., 2003; Skourtou et al., 2004). Greece became the recipient of migrants from neighbouring, former eastern European, African and Asian countries and the underlying assumption was that newcomers should be given the educational opportunities to adjust to mainstream society (Siassiakos, Theodosopoulou and Tsamadias, 2007:8). In the 2001 census, the number of immigrants was estimated as 762,191 individuals. According to Tiedt & Tiedt, (2002) diversity was acknowledged as a reality but the centrality of the prevalent culture was assumed. Immigrants were to adjust to mainstream society. The new reality required urgent political decisions on confronting the economic, social and educational problems that arose (Persianis, 1998; Pigiaki, 1999; Spinthourakis & Katsillis (2003); Gouvias, 2007).

GSAE developed educational programs for individuals that belonged in socially excluded groups. Table 2.5 presents the population of special groups in different adult programs in the periods 2000-2004 and 2004-2008. Percentage changes are illustrated between the two periods. Overall, in Greece 51,554 individuals from special groups were trained during 2004-2008 compared to 2,033 individuals during 2000-2004 (percentage increase 243%).

Table 2.5: G.S.A.E.-Trainees according to Special Population Group Source: www.unesco.org Confintea National Report on Greece 2008

(educational periods περίοδοι 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006, 2006-2007& 2007-2008*) and Percentage Changes

Special Population Group	Educational Period				Total [2000-2004]	Educational Period				Total [2004-2008]	Total [2000-2008]
	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004		2004-2005	2005-2006	2006-2007	2007-2008 *		
Repatriates				20	20	35	340	784	1.000	2.159	2.179
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	10.695%			
ROMA				40	40	1.107	1.262	890	1.000	4.259	4.299
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	10.548%			
Muslims				130	130	1.010	1.452	2.141	2.500	7.103	7.233
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	5.364%			
Prisoners				1.840	1.840	2.869	4.107	2.563	3.000	12.539	14.379
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	581%			
Immigrants				3	3	1.468	2.805	9.345	10.000	23.618	23.621
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	787.167%			
People with Special Needs					0			876	1.000	1.876	1.876
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						→	+ ∞			
Total	0	0	0	2.033	2.033	6.489	9.966	16.599	18.500	51.554	53.587
	Change of Percentage in Period [2004-2008] in comparison with Period [2000-2004]:						+	2436%			

Source: G.S.A.E. (Provided by the G.S.'s Office)
Note *: The data state available positions for education until June2008 [Funded by the 3rd Community Support Framework]

Second Chance Schools were established in Greece (Law 2525/1997 article 5) as innovative institutions to solve the problem of school drop out. SCSs constituted a dynamic outlet in the dropping out problem from mainstream education that as a social issue has been a hot issue in Greece for many years (Koutrouba, 2005;Paleokrassas, Rousseas &Vretakou, 2001; Teperoglou, Maratou-Alipranti & Tsiganou, 1999; Papatheofilou, 1998; Paleocrassas, Rousseas & Vretakou,V. 1997; Vergidis, 1995; Papatheofilou, Iakovou, Soukou, Koutsogiannis, & Kozadinos, 1994; Lariou-Drettaki, 1993). They aimed at integrating individuals at risk of social exclusion and marginalisation into the social, financial and professional structures of society (http://www.ekep.gr/Education/deuteris.asp;). SCSs seemed to solve all issues of social exclusion from the growth in migrants to school drop-out since they were interconnected according to the above commentators but there is no clear evidence of what percentage of migrants needed SCS support.

According to the National Statistical Service of Greece (ESYE), the population is 10, 934, 97 residents (census 2001) with 5,413,426 men and 5,520,671 women. Table 2.6 shows the age distribution of the population from the 2001 census.

Table 2.6: Total population of Greece according to age Source: National Statistical Service of Greece (ESYE)

Total population of the country	0-14	15-24	25-39	40-54	55-64	65-79	Over 80
10,934,097	1,660 ,899	1,561,6 37	2,500,7 72	2,183,2 67	1,200,2 89	1,49 7,181	330,0 52

According to the Greek Constitution, education plays an important role at many levels. It aims at the development of a multi-faceted level Greek citizen. This can be achieved within a free, national, democratic and religious aware framework that leads to higher levels of morality, intellect, professionalism and physical fitness. Every Greek citizen is entitled to education and it is free. According to the

data provided by the National Statistical Service (www.doe.gr), Greece holds the 35th position worldwide in terms of population literacy levels. The formal percentage of the Greek population that is considered illiterate is 3.6 percent while informally it is calculated at around 12 to 13 percent. Another formal source of information, the 2001 Greek Census data, indicates that almost 1 million individuals of the nearly 10.9 million population have not completed compulsory education. Illiteracy is most obvious in rural agricultural regions of the country; it exists across all ages. Minority groups such as Roma, repatriates, immigrants and members of the Muslim minority contribute significantly to these statistics. Reducing illiteracy seemed an urgent issue that had social interconnections and repercussions.

The above percentages can usefully be considered in relation to evidence of dropout rates from Greek schools. In Greece public education is free and obligatory for ten years. Any child can be registered in Greek schools by presenting a birth certificate and proof of residence in a Greek territory, but there is no official expulsion/exclusion data. According to the OECD in 2001, the percentage of the enrolments in elementary education was 98.5% and in secondary education was 82%. The indication is that 1.5% of children were never enrolled in the elementary school system and 18% dropped out of the obligatory secondary low level (Gymnasio). Dimitrakopoulos (2004:35) insisted that despite the fact that lower secondary education is compulsory, a large number of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils do not seem to enrol. The Hellenic Pedagogical Institute provides a 6.09% of dropout rate in the Gymnasium. If we compare this percentage to that found in 2001, it is obvious that there has been a reduction of dropout rates at this specific educational level (www.ypepth.gr/docs/4_1_07_sxoliki_diarroi.doc).The SCSs seemed to cover those susceptible groups that dropped out of mainstream education and attracted them back to education so that drop out rates have reduced, hence the role of SCSs.

Another important issue in Greece is unemployment (OECD factbook 2008). In 1998 the female unemployment rate was 17.5% while male unemployment was at 7.4%. In 2006, female unemployment was 13.6% while male unemployment was 5.6%.Tsakoglou and Choleza (2005) comment that "the relationship between unemployment and educational qualifications appears to be non-linear, irrespective of age or sex". They even add that unemployment rates are so high among secondary education graduates (9.9%) because the skills offered in the

general strand of upper secondary education do not meet the needs of the Greek labour market. In addition, the apprenticeship system does not exist in Greece; it is better developed in most European countries. During the economic crisis of 2009, unemployment exploded to even higher levels; the official percentage reported for October 2011 was 18.2% while in 2012 it exceeded 21%.

Although education could be seen as comprising the most important axis of social integration of everybody into Greek society and in helping in the reduction of unemployment, Paraskevopoulos & Morgan, (2010) advocated that "the basis of the "New School" reform introduced in 2010 is in question, as it appears to be a product of the financial crisis rather than a reform aimed at educational improvement. The targets set by "New School" are difficult to achieve, bearing in mind the now chronic underfunding of education, the shortage of teaching staff, as well as the reaction of a demoralized and underpaid existing teaching staff". The economic crisis has had serious consequences on educational reforms and the implementation of programmes in Greece.

2.2: The European Union and effects on Adult Education

Life-Long Learning has emerged as a central strategy in the European Union's education and training policies since the 1990s. The EU assumed the role of a key player in the field of Life-Long Learning aiming to promote the Europeanisation of education at an international level by marking the steady growing recognition of the need for Life-Long Learning. It produced policy documents that supported new objectives such as: 'personal fulfilment', 'active citizenship', 'social inclusion' and 'employability/adaptability' (CEC, 2001:9; Schreiber-Barsch, 2009; Cruikshank 2008; COM 2007; Field 2005; OECD 2005; COM 2005; De La Fuente and Ciccone 2002; European Commission, 2000; 1997). Life-Long Learning became a replacement term for continuing education "as an elastic concept that can be tailored to almost any particular need" (Dehmel, 2006:58; COM, 2007b; COM, 2007c; COM, 2007d).

It would be useful though to define Life-Long Learning as it was presented in the EU as a concept and its objectives. The first definition in the *Memorandum on Life-Long Learning* referred to "all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills, and competence" (CEC, 2000:3; European Council, 2000). In 1997 in the context of the European

Employment Strategy, the emphasis is on work. The definition is extended in *Making a European Area of Life-Long Learning a Reality* as "all learning activity undertaken throughout life, with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic and/or employment-related perspective" (CEC, 2001:9), by eliminating the word 'purposeful' and showing the recognition of formal, non-formal and informal learning as an integral part of LLL. The tendency to replace terms can be seen throughout the decade where the perspective of 'Life-Long Learning' becomes more explicit with keywords such as 'from cradle-to grave' and the replacement of an 'ongoing basis' with 'throughout life'. The dual interrelated objectives of 'active citizenship' and the promotion of 'employability' become indispensable for the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society as it is set by the 2000 Lisbon European Council. There is a shift of focus from education itself to employment and labour market dimensions of Life-Long Learning while aspects of social participation and personal development are treated as marginal points in the Memorandum. The critique and discussion on these points led to an extension and inclusion of the concepts of 'personal fulfilment', 'active citizenship', 'social inclusion' and 'employability/adaptability' (CEC, 2001:9) in the *Memorandum* on a merely rhetorical level (Novoa & deJong-Lambert, 2003). In the Work Programme for 2010 the role of LLL is "a new approach to educational matters, at both the personal and the social level, stressing the responsibility of each individual to constantly update his or her skills so as to enhance and maintain their own employability" (Novoa & deJong-Lambert, 2003:60). These points are connected with the central issues of high unemployment rates and social exclusion that most European state members are faced with. In summary, Life-Long Learning has emerged as the central strategy in EU education and training policy "to justify, summarize, publicize, and popularize its values, ideas and policies in the field of education and training" (Dehmel, 2006:49).

LLL has been the core of the EU's education and training policy but it is not a new concept that emerged recently; rather, it is a reformed and regenerated one that has been under debate since the early 1970s (Field, 2000, Hodgson, 2000:2). There are two peaks in the LLL discourse that are characterised as the booming phases: the first phase being the early 1970s until the mid 1970s and the second one the early 1990s (Schemmann, 2002:23). I am not going to give an emphasis to the first period since it is not related immediately to my thesis. During this period LLL emerged as an important issue in international debates where there was a broad consensus of general social and cultural objectives which later on influenced the development of the LLL concept. Key players in this debate were

the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Council of Europe. Important publications of this period included *Permanent Education* by the Council of Europe in 1970; *Recurrent Education: a Strategy for Life-Long Learning* by OECD in 1973; *Learning to Be: the World of Education Today and Tomorrow* (Faure et al., 1972) by UNESCO. The last document was a milestone of this period because it expressed a "break with the reduced concept of learning within institutionalised educational systems" (Walter & Stauber, 1998:11) and education for all individuals throughout their lives (Hyland, 1999:11, Field, 2000:5), giving an emphasis to humanistic ideas within a broad socio-cultural framework (UNESCO, 1997, Rogers, 2005, Jarvis, 2004). Adult education was called 'liberal education' during these days (Jarvis, 2002, Swedish National Council of Adult Education, 2003). These broad humanistic ideas were shaded by the economic crisis (petrol crisis) of that time and the decline of the welfare state, effects of recession, increasing unemployment. LLL disappeared from the policy agendas (Belanger, 1997: viii).

LLL re-emerged in the political agendas of the 1990s with a broad international focus and a shift towards more utilitarian and economic objectives (Hyland, 1999:11). It acquired the form of a powerful rhetorical instrument, fitting the needs not only of educationalists but economists, sociologists and other professional groups (Rubenson, 1996, referred to in Schemmann, 2002:28). LLL acquired a new ambivalent dimension reflecting the conditions of the time. Hodgson (2000:4) commented that "Life-Long learning was the 1990s' response to, or even defence against, a changing, frightening and unknown technological, economic, social and political environment-it became as slippery and multifaceted as the environment in which it exists".

The key players OECD, UNESCO and the European Commission remained the same in this peak period as well, trying to develop the concept of Life-Long Learning through major contributions to the field through policy documents: *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (CEC, 1995), *Learning-the Treasure Within* (UNESCO, 1996) and *Life-Long Learning for all* (OECD, 1996). These documents could not avoid criticism though by experts in the field: "in essence, they all said much the same" (Field, 2000:8). The key words that appeared in this phase were 'globalisation', 'the rise of new information technologies', the 'ageing society' at an international level while in Europe they became the driving forces towards a Single European Market and LLL became the tool of implementing the new strategies of integrated policies of economic, social

and cultural objectives (Kearns et al. 1999; Sabour (in Dale & Robertson, 2009); Radaelli, 2001:110). The central role of LLL was emphasised in the Commission's White Paper *Growth, Competitiveness and Employment* (CEC, 1994), which presents LLL as the 'strategic idea' (CEDEFOP, 2003:1) that should be used to meet the new social and economic challenges: "Life-Long Learning is...the overall objective to which the national educational communities can make their own contributions" (CEC, 1994:17).

It is indisputable that the 1995 White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (CEC, 1995), played an important role in establishing LLL as a guiding strategy in European policies (Hake, 1999:13; Field, 2000:7). It made reference to the following:

> Education and training, now more than ever, will be the main components of the individual's identity, social progress and personal growth...The future of the European Union and its radiance will, in great part, stem from its ability to follow the trend towards the learning society. We will have to acquire the means for the development of the disposition towards lifelong learning and training within the European Union (Commission Europeenne, 'Livre Blank', 1995:16-17).

However, this was only just a step that did not entail radical change of perceptions and policies. In the following years many discussions took place that transformed adult education into Life-Long Learning with the aim of contributing to the development of the economy, employability, social cohesion and active citizenship. Nevertheless, there has been much criticism of it by Hake (1999:66), who stresses the fact that it focuses on initial schooling and "manifests a total failure to grasp the dynamic approach required to actively promote lifelong learning" and is "marked by a complete lack of imagination and creativity". The main instruments for the implementation of EU policies were the Community action programmes SOCRATES (which covers both general and higher education) and LEONARDO DA VINCI (which covers vocational education and training), launched in 1995 for five years. The White Paper also resulted in launching 1996 as the European Year of Life-Long Learning (EYLLL) (CEC, 1995:31) aiming at raising awareness of the importance of the need of LLL both at national and international levels and delineating a strategy for LLL by specifying a number of key principles set within a framework (Council of European Union, 1997).

Some parallel cornerstones should be mentioned that supported the development of LLL such as the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. Since 1998 LLL has become a priority 'horizontal' theme within the European Employment Strategy. In 2000, the second phase of the Community action programmes SOCRATES II and

LEONARDO DA VINCI II were launched for seven years together with the new programme YOUTH to promote LLL (CEDEFOP, 2004:5). The Lisbon European Council (2000:10) affirmed also the *Memorandum on Life-Long Learning* (CEC, 2000) which stated that Life-Long Learning is a core element in the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society, emphasising that LLL was no longer one aspect of education and training but *it must become the guiding principle* for participating across a full continuum of learning contexts (CEC, 2000:3). The *Memorandum* provided a structured framework that contains six Key Messages:

- New basic skills for all
- More investment in human resources
- Innovation in teaching and learning
- Valuing learning
- Rethinking guidance and counselling
- Bringing learning closer to home.

The Memorandum comprised a major educational policy project which focused on the 'open method of cooperation', joint research and dissemination, best practices and developing common benchmarks and guidelines; it is considered an important EU convergence policy tool for implementing structures, mechanisms and processes leading to similar development of the EU member states' education and training systems (Lisbon European Council, 2000:37; European Commission Report, 2000). Novoa and DeJong-Lambert argued that "the Europeanisation of education is based on this method of establishing standards and benchmarks, enforcing the illusion that each country is free to follow its own path" (Novoa and DeJong-Lambert, 2003:46; Ertl 2006; European Council 2003; COM 2002; COM 2001). The Memorandum provided the basis for consultation at European and national level and the foundation for making a European Area of Life-Long Learning a reality (CEC, 2001) which is a 'European action plan' (Fahle, 2001:19). It presents 'priorities for actions' under the above six Key Messages of the Memorandum, and is thus considered "as an important blueprint on Life-Long learning" (Dehmel, 2006:54). It is interesting to point out the clarifications of the Memorandum concerning the teaching and learning methods:

> The educators' profession will undergo major changes in the decades to come: trainers and educators become guides, counsellors and intermediates. Their very important role is to help and support the trainees, who, within their power, are themselves responsible for their own education according to the principle of shared responsibility. The ability and courage for the development and implementation of open and widespread participation teaching and learning methods should become a basic professional skill of

educators both within and outside the school environment. Besides, active learning requires motivation for learning, critical ability, as well as the ability to learn. It is the developing of these human abilities of acquiring and using knowledge that is central to the educator's role (European Commission, "Memorandum concerning Life-Long-Education",2004:4).

The *Memorandum* also inspired the creation of *The Concrete Future Objectives of Education and Training Systems* (Council of the European Union, 2001), endorsed by the Stockholm European Council that contained shared objectives to be achieved by 2010. A follow-up of this work was a ten-year programme that was done by the Education Council and the Commission, approved by the European Council in Barcelona in 2002, often referred as 'Education and Training 2010' (CEC, 2003:51). This re-emphasised the crucial role of LLL in EU education and training systems based on a quality reference framework. It set three strategic objectives of quality/effectiveness, access, openness and thirteen subdivided targets that covered various types and levels of education and training. In 2003, the European Education Council adopted five concrete benchmarks for Education and Training 2010 which "include important markers for the progress to be made in implementing Life-Long Learning" (CEDEFOP, 2004:6) in order to raise participation in Life-Long Learning to 12.5% of 25-64 year olds. In 2004, the first joint interim report, *'Education and Training 2010': the Success of the Lisbon Strategies Hinges on Urgent Reforms,* acknowledged deficits in implementing Life-Long Learning and called for immediate action in three priority areas, one of which was 'Make Life-Long Learning a concrete reality' (Council of the European Union, 2004:5) and assigned the next integrated Community action programmes from 2007-2013 (CEC, 2004). This integrated programme consisted of four programmes COMENIUS (school education), ERASMUS (higher education), LEONARDO DA VINCI (vocational education and training), GRUNDTVIG (adult education), completed by two horizontal programmes, the Transversal Programme with four key activities: policy development, language learning, ICT, dissemination; and the Jean Monnet Programme with European integration.

Life-Long Learning remained at the heart of EU's education policy during the whole decade 2000-2010, although policy contexts were not always clearly defined. There are conflicting forces both within the European Councils and within country members that can be regarded as contradictions, for example by comparing certain phrases in the text of Lisbon Presidential Conclusions (European Council, Presidency Conclusions, 2000):

Social integration is *more important* than paid labour.

The promotion of a) active participation in social life and b) promotion of employability are *equally important* and interlinked aims of lifelong education.

Europe can - and should - show that it is possible to simultaneously achieve a) economic growth and b) enhancement of social cohesion.

The debate at the end of the first decade of the 21st century within members of the EU focused on the raising of standards of both social cohesion and economic growth. However, the interrelation of social, political and economic powers are different in each country and emerging contradictions are very much alive now in all fields, especially in education (Paraskevopoulos & Morgan, 2010; Dale & Robertson, 2009). Over time, these contradictions have become even starker, particularly in what happened economically and socially in Greece in the period from 2009-2012 when the financial crisis occurred.

2. 3: Second Chance Schooling

2.3.1 The Inspiration of Second Chance Schools

Fighting social exclusion, dropping out of school, reducing illiteracy and innumeracy, raising awareness of community cohesion and education for citizenship, reducing discrimination against ethnic minorities, gaining qualifications in a competitive world and increasing productivity were some of the priorities given attention within the generally positive climate of reforming education in Europe by empowering adult education (Second Chance Schools, 2000). All the European member states, as well as the USA, Canada and Australia set similar goals of fighting social exclusion and improving the economies of their countries. In Greece, the creation of specific adult schools, called Second Chance Schools [SCSs], was the result of this educational discourse about combating social exclusion and the effects of school drop out.

The inspiration for the creation of SCSs came in part from the US educational experience. School dropout remains a major problem in the USA. In a recent survey on the dropout problem, John Tyler & Magnus Lofstrom (2009:77) stated that "The overall national dropout rate appears to be between 22 and 25 per cent, but the rate is higher among black and Hispanic students, and it has not changed much in recent decades". Importantly connected with the issue of dropping out were not only school failure but social status, economical status and the special group of ethnicity you belonged to in case of immigrants. The issue of dropping out of school still remains an acute problem in America although efforts

have been made to address it. Alternative schools have evolved since the 1960s and today they remain a popular educational alternative for many students in USA. Policy makers and educators insisted that students in alternative education were provided with the chance to succeed and overcome the risk of school failure. Advocates argued that alternatives to the traditional school model are imperative to meeting the needs of all students (Barr & Parrett, 2001; Natriello, McDill & Pallas, 1990; Raywid, 1989; Wehlage & Rutter, 1987; Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko & Fernadez, 1989; Young, 1990). According to Reywid (1994:26) alternative schools were a "cutting-edge" educational reform because "alternatives are the clearest example we have of what a restructured school might look like." An approximate estimate of the number of alternative schools in America at the turn of the 21st century was about 20,000 in operation (Barr & Parrett, 2001) most of which were designed to meet the needs of 'disenfranchised youth' and reach the students at risk of school failure. The common points of reference for alternative schools were dropout prevention, special education, and at-risk youth (Young, 1990).

Comparing this educational system of alternative pathways and dropout recovery routes with the European notion and establishment of Second Chance Schools is like comparing the giant and the ant. The American educational system provided a great many alternative paths that are similar to European Second Chance Schools only in the conception of the idea. America conceived and developed the General Education Programme (GED) programme in the late 1940s while Europe conceived the idea of SCS for dropouts in the late 1990s. Europe took an additional 50 years to implement alternative routes for adults who need a second chance.

2.3.2 Second Chance Schools in Europe

In Europe, the European Union played an important role in establishing SCSs through its 'decision-making powers' and 'legal competence' by imposing on its member states a shift in education towards a 'learning society' from the mid 1980s to 1996. This radical shift was signalled in the publication of the White Paper, *Teaching and Learning: towards the learning society* (CEC 1995) which was based on economic and political concerns on the one hand, fuelled by the crisis of European competitiveness and the single market programme and, on the other hand, by the notion of expanding the European Union's competences in the area of education which was led by national organisations.

One of the basic concerns of the European Union was the fight against school failure and social exclusion, because it believed that there was 'lost treasures of potential' among those young people who dropped out of school that could be unlocked and exploited for their own benefit (European Commission Report (2001:7).

> Surveys show that dropouts often come from low-income families and there appears to be a strong inter-generational component in school failure. Many of these young people come from broken homes and only barely integrated immigrant and refugee families. Dropping out of school therefore is not an isolated phenomenon of learning failure. It is, like social exclusion, related to a multitude of social, health, family and financial factors. Although school failure is only one consideration in a larger 'domino-effect' of social deprivation, dropping out of education is often the fatal stumbling block that deprives young people of skills, qualifications, purpose and order in life, as well as the social contacts and environment they need in order to be heard and appreciated (European Commission Report, 2001:4).

According to statistics (Eurostat, Labour Market Survey 1998) 20.5% is the percentage of young people who attended lower secondary education (nine to ten years obligatory mainstream education) between 18 and 24 in the European Union. In response to these figures, the member states of the European Union agreed to set up Second Chance Schools on an experimental, pilot basis so that each country could shape these according to their legal requirements, the educational setting and local traditions. From 1996 to 2000 13 Second Chance Schools were established in 12 countries: Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, United Kingdom and Luxembourg. (Annex 2 in the European Commission Report, 2001).

The European Commission provided support for the selected pilot projects through the assistance of an advisor who ensured that the schools were developed according to the general principles of the Commission. It also organised conferences and different activities to facilitate the exchange of experience among the countries that had SCSs (http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/2chance/indexen.html). An electronic network was also financed by the European Commission in 1999, called E2C-Europe (http://www.e2c-europe.org) under the ISPO programme, for a period of 18 months. An annual meeting of students was also organised each year from 1998 up to 2001 combining sports with social, educational and cultural activities in different cities to mobilise the students, and encourage pupil and teacher exchanges.

The Maastricht Treaty (1992) embodied notions of restructuring education and training. Its focus point was the internationalisation of the European labour market and an educational shift towards a lifelong learning society. The Treaty set out some common goals to promote competitiveness through labour mobility and through the creation of a 'European citizen'. Education and training were the focus of attention and new programmes were provided for adult learners, including work-based learning, part-time and distance learning.

The pilot establishment of SCSs was meant by the EU to place the issue of school failure and its repercussions on the political agenda of the educational authorities in the Member States by generating fresh ideas about the prevention of school failure in the traditional educational system. "An important objective in launching the Second Chance Schools has therefore been to bring a 'forgotten group' to the attention of education policy makers-a group for whom 'prevention' was no longer a choice" (European Commission Report 2001:9). The pilot implementation of SCSs in the member state was proposed by Edith Cresson, a member of the European Committee. From the moment Cresson's proposal became known to the member states, the Union received more than 600 applications from which 13 finally materialised. The first SCSs started functioning between 1997 and 1999, in the following states: Marseilles in France, Hale and Koln in Germany, Leeds in the UK, Bilbao and Barcelona in Spain, Hamelin in Finland, Norcheping in Sweden, Catania in Italy, Saesal in Portugal, Heerlen in Holland, Swendborg in Denmark and Athens in Greece. The European network of SCSs facilitated the exchange of good practice, experience, and educational material as well as the cooperation among schools (Inventory of Good Practices by University of Florence, 2009). That was the reason that educational visits were exchanged among European SCSs.

Pilot SCSs were meant to be different from the traditional schools that might have caused school dropout but at the same time they were linked to the national school system. The establishment of SCSs can belong either to the formal, non-formal or informal educational system of each country. Researchers in the field of Life-Long Learning defined as 'formal' those SCSs which linked to nationally accredited education or were based on core national curricula (the European Commission Report, 2000). 'Non formal' education is organized outside the formal national educational structures but having formal qualifications, diplomas or recognition as an aim. On the other hand 'informal' learning happens outside structured teaching in classrooms, workshops, homes, leisure or in the world of work and it is often incidental. SCSs are considered as officially belonging to non

formal education in the Eurydice database while they are referred to as 'formal' in the European Commission Report (2000). But whatever the categorisation adopted, the common thread in the creation of adult Second Chance Schools in Europe, America and Australia is addressing school failure and drop out (Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009:1; Tyler & Lofstrom, 2009:1; Barr & Parrett, 2001; Natriello, McDill & Pallas, 1990; Raywid, 1989; Wehlage & Rutter, 1987; Wehlage, Rutter, Smith, Lesko & Fernadez, 1989; Young, 1990; Duttweiler, 1995; Dynarski & Wood, 1997; Natriello et al., 1990; Newmann, 1981; Pitman & Haughwout, 1987; Wehlage et al., 1989).

2.3.3 Second Chance Schools and employment

The original purpose of SCS was to remedy the impact of school dropout but the ultimate purpose was to provide its students with a connection to the labour market by providing traineeships and concrete job prospects. That was the reason local partnerships were encouraged with local authorities, active youth associations, employers and enterprises. SCSs were seen as representing a gateway to the labour market by improving the social needs for more education and the economic situation due to the emerging issues of growth of migration, unemployment and low levels of illiteracy. At the same time there was a connection between SCSs and the formal education system because of the recruitment of teachers, the recognition of qualifications and the definition of the curriculum which had to meet the criteria set by the formal system. The success of SCS depended upon a combination of intricate networks of cooperation both at the top level of policy makers and ministers, but also at the bottom level of teachers, advisors, and psychologists working with the students. Individual learning styles, strategies and skills needed to be recognised and accepted.

However the SCSs programme did not happen simultaneously in all the member states and there were some problems located in their initiation. Broadly, these related to the fact that

- SCSs were funded using different financial resources,
- They received different amounts of funding,
- The allocation of funds was realised at different times and
- The funds were allocated through different procedures.

All these reasons created a brake in the simultaneous organisation and function of SCSs (Taratori et al. 2008:20).

2.3.4 Teacher recruitment and training

The role of the teachers was a key one. The teachers needed the relevant qualifications, special education, the right psychology, pedagogy and social abilities to commit personally and show empathy and compassion for students who might have had traumatic experiences from their school days or personal problems. The European Commission Report (2001:17) considered that "The constructive relationships between teachers and pupils in the SCSs are a key ingredient in their success". Teacher training was an important issue for SCS from the outset. The European Commission Report (2001:17) stated that "The schools are aware that these specific skills need constant updating. Teacher training is organised in different ways in all the schools. Some teachers have had 'induction' training before taking up their appointments (in Athens for instance), whilst others (such as Bilbao) 'outsource' permanent teacher training to universities. In some schools, teacher training means participation in standard external modules provided by training agencies, whilst others prefer customised internal training. Teacher training was not organised in a systematic continuous way despite the ambitions of the project. The European Union made some efforts to organise 'Teacher Summits' annually through the Connect programme http://europa.eu.int/comm./education/connect/call.html,and a 'train-the trainers' programme which was devoted both to life and social skills but it seems that after the first three or four years of the creation of SCSs the support diminished.

Teacher training was, therefore, organized very differently in the various schools across Europe. Some of them offered all their teachers a special further education before starting in the Second Chance School. In some others, a permanent teacher training relation was developed with a university. This was especially the case with the schools that were established 'from scratch', specifically to address the initiative of the European Commission.

2.3.5 Second Chance Schools in Greece

The aims of the SCSs are not always clear. The government may say one thing; students may say another while many Greek scholars interpreted it differently according to their focus of attention. According to the governmental law 2525/97, Second Chance Schools were institutionalised in Greece having as their explicit aim the completion of obligatory education of people above eighteen and re-linking them with education as well as their personal and social development.

Raising employability chances were the implicit potential outcome of this policy with an effort to follow the European strand of LLL. Education and employability are not mutually exclusive but inclusive. Marmarinos and Verveniotou (2007:105) stated that "Life-Long Learning as well as Second Chance Schools were 'imported' in Greece from the European Union". In Greece the problems being addressed were social exclusion, marginalisation, illiteracy and developing human capital. The aims of SCS were to fight social exclusion by supplementing basic education; upgrading the general educational levels of literacy; teaching formal qualifications and finally by improving professional proficiency and career chances (Vekris, 2003:17; Pigiaki, 2006:108).

SCSs were not intended to be mainstream high schools that just repeated secondary education. They are schools with a different character and a different philosophy whose structure and function are imposed by the needs, the interests, the skills and the motives of the students. They were intended to be schools free from the mainstream curriculum, designed to cover specific teaching material (Marmarinos and Verveniotou, 2007:106). They were considered not only as an innovation but as a deep reform intervention in the inflexible Greek educational system. Passias & Flouris, (2001:55), for example, claimed that educators in SCSs experienced new educational practices "alternative to the often closed, unified and narrow model of education they were used to at home".

SCSs were the only institutions in Greece in the framework of Life-Long Learning that offered adult education leading to a certificate of studies equivalent to that of a high school certificate, alongside the acquisition of knowledge and skills (Katsikas & Stavrinadis, 2001). Adamidis (2005:8) stated that many adult students in SCSs were successful professionals but they had not completed their basic education and the lack of the high school certificate was an obstacle to their professional development or improvement of their financial status. According to Anagnostopoulou (2004) and Vergidis (2004) in Greece the majority of adult students in SCSs were neither young nor considered that their financial level belonged to the 'low category,' nor were they socially excluded in the meaning that this term was used in the European countries. What they wanted from attending SCSs was knowledge, education and continuation of their studies and implicitly 'the paper' [meaning the certificate] which is part of a dominant Greek ideology for all levels of education; quite surprisingly, their request for integration in the labour market was second. That point accords with Vekris's view (2003) that

Greek SCSs are different from European ones in relation to their philosophy, the principles and the composition of the group, which included older people who were unskilled and unemployed. The first students in SCSs helped define the educational aim: gravity was not given to vocational training and employment but to education (Marmarinos and Verveniotou, 2007:107).

The first educators at SCSs, seconded from Secondary Education, contributed to this aim because their choice of teaching at SCSs signified their wish for 'an educational change'. The educators considered SCSs as 'a second chance' for themselves as educators and the Greek educational system generally (Barlos, Gogou et al., 2005). The frequent training meetings provided them with the possibility of practising new methodologies, trying new techniques, organising projects, experimenting with group work, planning co-teaching, organising workshops, discussing their problems and their reflections with colleagues, tabling their experience in the weekly school meetings with the scientific advisor, the psychologist and the employment councillor (Marmarinos, Sakellari and Tzoumaka, 2008). Marmarinos and Verveniotou (2007:107) insisted that: "Most (of the educators) were conscious that they participated in an educational experiment" or an "innovative program" (Tsafos, 2008) and that explains the high motivation and the job satisfaction achieved by teachers of English in SCSs (Karavas 2008). Pigiaki (2006) advocated that 'the navigation process' of SCSs was not taken for granted from the beginning. It had to be planned, to be implemented, to be discussed and readjusted in an effort for a desired outcome.

2.3.6 Training of Educators in Second Chance Schools

In Greece SCSs are the only formal schools in a non-formal adult educational system. The majority of educators who work in SCSs come from secondary education. They submit a request for secondment; after a call of interest by the Directorates of Secondary Education they are selected through the procedure of an interview and are seconded to SCSs. The posts that remain vacant are covered by temporary educators paid per hour from the labour market, creating in this way their pre-service experience before they get appointed in the public educational system. Their selection goes through a whole procedure of counting their qualifications, their experience and their interest in adult education through an interview. They must be University or Technical School graduates, have adequate professional experience, be computer literate and speak at least one foreign language, while a Master's degree, a PhD, writing work, publications,

presentations in conferences, seminars and professional experience in general are an extra asset.

At the establishment of the SCSs the teachers were referred to as tutors because of the differentiation from their normal role. The tutors were to deal with attitudes, human relationships, behaviour and the solution of personal problems. The term 'tutor' was changed to 'educator' and after 2008 it has returned to its first state that of 'teacher'. What is important though is the fact that teachers were and are required to have extra qualifications, to be experienced, to have special studies either in adult education or special education or psychology or pedagogy. They also need good interpersonal skills and a 'big heart' for those who are in a difficult situation. All these requirements demand a dual role on the part of the teachers: that of the cognitive conveyor of knowledge and that of advisor or counsellor. Involvement, engagement, empathy, compassion and concern are some of the striking features that are developed in SCS with the specific target groups.

According to the SCSs' guidelines (2003) "The role of the educator in SCS is participatory. The educator is not content with simply his teaching task, but he himself diagnoses the educational needs of his students as a researcher, formulates a syllabus proposal, evaluates, researches and looks for ways of solving problems, plans and produces educational material" (Organisation and Function of SCSs, 2003). A basic presupposition for the successful implementation of the programme is the substantial training of the educators who teach in SCSs both in issues of Pedagogy, Psychology and Adult Education as well as in issues of teaching methodology in each discipline with a guiding, advisory and a mediating role (Hatzisavvidis, 2007; 2005). According to Kalantzis and Cope, (2005) the cornerstone of every effort in the field of LLL is the trainer of adults because he is to play a double role: as user of multiple information resources and as coordinator of group knowledge production. Vergidis (2003) sees the trainer in SCSs as a link between education and local society, a group facilitator, working in collaboration with other trainers and counsellors in SCSs, responsible for needs analysis, course design and evaluation of the educational process and his own practices and work. Other scholars in the field add further roles: to guide, to manage administrative issues, to manage knowledge and crises, to coordinate social environments and networks (Bagnall 2009, Karalis and Vergidis, 2004, Victor and Sarbo 2004, Rogers 2002, Kember, Kwan and Ledesma 2001). Consequently, what is expected from the trainer of adults is to develop autonomy, cooperation, communication, networking ability, interaction,

knowledge management, negotiation ability, risk taking, transformative ability, intercultural awareness, flexibility (Katsarou and Tsafos 2008, Preston 2006, Harlen 2006, Leadbetter 2004). It is obvious, that if LLL in Greece is to be successful, the role of trainer has to be taken under serious consideration, given the fact that s/he undertakes a wide variety of roles (Panitsidou and Papastamatis 2009).

From the implementation of the first SCS, from 1997 to 1999, training was offered to the selected teachers who would work in the first SCS (Mattheou, 2001; Pigiaki, 2006). In 2001 the support of the educators was overseen in its theoretical, pedagogic and practical aspect by IDEKE, by a three membered monitoring team and support of a scientific team (Mattheou, 2001). In-school training with the help of the scientific coordinator was offered and in-service training meetings were offered by IDEKE during the year (Xohellis and Papanaoum, 2000; Pigiaki, 2006). According to Tsamadias et al (2010:153) the General Secretariat of Life-Long Learning (GSLLL) examined the criteria for the assessment of the adult educators during 2000-2009 and they came to the conclusion that until 2005 the criteria were vaguely described while from 2006 and onwards, there was a shift in recognising that formal education and further education are two different fields which should be assessed separately. That differentiation meant that more emphasis was placed on training, seminars and conferences attended by candidates. What was also admitted in the same source was: "Paradoxically, less importance is given to teaching experience in the adult sector" (Tsamadias et al 2010:153). Kavadias, Kioulanis et al (2007) found in their study, which had a focus on the methodology of further training of 113 adult trainers in SCSs, that further training was necessary in adult trainers' opinion (69.03%) and that 64% of trainers preferred in service training by colleagues. Kioulanis & Papavlasopoulos (2007) as well as Kioulanis et al. (2006) added that reinforcing the educators' training in SCSs at a regional level was a must. On the other hand, Metis (2006); Metis and Kavadias (2008) insisted on in-school, in-service training of educators as a major factor of efficiency of the pedagogical process in SCSs after having experimented on such a model in the region of Attiki.

In 2008, by decision of the General Secretary the establishment of a unique Registry of Adults' Trainers was proposed. According to Tsamadias, Koutrouba, and Theodosopoulou (2010: 152), "Until now, there is a lack of data for the competences of the trainers or their training in the adult learning field. It is expected that the Register will act as a platform with concrete information about

the profile of the trainer, his/her qualifications, experience and professional development". Moreover, the preconditions for trainers' inclusion processes, project assignment, assessment, professional development and potential dismissal from the Registry were also under examination. Initial planning was intended to be completed by March 2008 but by 2010 it had still not started.

Apart from their educational and employability dimension, a SCS was also intended to be a place of re-socialising of the students. The career advisor and the psychologist were to support the students, focusing on the students' needs and creating a supportive and creative environment which facilitates learning, the development of personal and social skills and the redefinition of the students' personal process (Glaroudi & Kagalidou, 2003). The final goal was for each student to exploit in the best possible way this second chance that was offered to him or her. At the same time counselling support was to be provided to the educators too to overcome the difficulties they have in their work since SCSs are a second chance for both students and teachers (Triarhi, 2001; Vekris, 2003).

2.3.7 Teaching Methods

One of the principles that guide teaching in SCS is: "A different teaching and counselling approach focusing on the individual's needs, wishes and abilities, and stimulating his or her active learning" (Vekris, 2003). The pedagogical approach of the schools is intended to be learner-centred promoting student participation and involvement in their training, interpersonal communication, education, employability and social programmes (Taratori, 1996). This approach is reinforced through active cooperation with the local enterprises to acquire real life experiences. Apart from the acquisition of a basic education and information on vocational qualifications, the curriculum includes socio-cultural development, psychological development through group work, use of students' experience, exchange of experience, creativity and self-esteem (Taratori, 2001; Athanasopoulou et al., 2005).

Teaching is conducted in small groups, in learning communities, based on the students' needs, abilities and aspirations (Faris, 2003:4-43; Wenger, 1998; Hatzidimou, 2007; Anagnostopoulou, 2001) and through collaboration (Imel and Zengler, 2002:41-49; York, and Kasl, 2002:93-104) and negotiation (Valavani, 2006). Students are encouraged to become the protagonists of their second chance. Native drop-outs are encouraged to contradict their images of the failure

they had in mainstream education, to use new technologies and to engage with the world of work while immigrants are encouraged to overcome the limits of fluency in the Greek language in addition to developing their knowledge (Hatzidimou &Taratori, 2001; Tsalkatidou & Taratori, 2007).

Moreover, a different way of assessment of students was established with techniques such as portfolio assessment, participatory and creative projects and the use of multimedia (Katsarou, 2003; Pamouktsoglou 2004; Zografou et al., 2004).

2.3.8 Statistics and Evaluation of SCSs

There were three external evaluations of SCSs that depended on the political party in office in Greece. The first one (Mattheou, 2001) concerned the period 2000-2001 which was the pilot period of the first schools in Athens. It was applied to 27 teachers of all subjects who participated in the survey, aiming at presenting the teachers' views about the strong and weak points of the new institution. The results showed that there were some strong points:

• 59% of the teachers surveyed thought that the SCSs promoted the development of a positive pedagogical climate
• 25% of the teachers applied innovative activities in the teaching process
• 31% of the teachers said that the students showed great interest
• 65% said that there was increase of students' self-confidence and self-respect
The weak points were:
• 45% said that there was lack of proper material and technical infrastructure
• 37% said that there were difficulties in communication and cooperation with the central authority IDEKE (Institute of Continuing Adult Education) and
• 29% said there was extended absence of students (Mattheou, 2001).

The second external evaluation (Vergidis, 2003) concerned the school periods 2001-2003. It showed that the innovative character of SCSs presupposed the differentiation and broadening of the educators' role. This differentiation was built around the creation of suitable educational material; the coordination, the encouragement and active listening to students; and in linking their education with local society and the employment world. Most participants' answers focused on lack of technical infrastructure; malfunctioning of the first five SCSs with negative working climate and bad relationships. Those negative aspects then led to the

proposal of creating 'a crisis' team for overcoming conflicts and malfunctioning in SCSs (Vergidis' evaluation of SCSs, 2003:261). According to the same evaluation and the teachers' views in relation to educators' training the focus should be on teaching, encouragement and the development of cooperation among the agents of the SCS project. The educators who participated in the evaluation of the training meetings of that period were different in each training meeting and the responses differentiated from one area to the other. It is worth mentioning the percentage of 53.3% who needed more training to respond to the SCS programme while only 43.3% thought that they were able to respond to the demands of the programme after attending the training seminars.

The third set of evaluations followed the 2004-2008 period, in a more detailed and better organised form, after the political change in the top hierarchy. (Koutrouba, 2007; Parnassas et al., 2008, 2007, 2006) They evaluated not only the quality of the training meetings but also the work produced in SCSs, the infrastructure, the agents, the trainees, communication of the different levels of SCSs and top hierarchy. On the whole the educators were moderately satisfied by training with 3.38 /5 and they agreed that they needed more training with 3.46 and they would prefer to have a regular meeting of all SCSs colleagues and the coordinator of each subject and then in-school training, visits to other schools and self-training. The training seminars did not cover some important issues that occupied educators such as: general education and theoretical training for the SCS programme, experiential approach, group dynamics, learning difficulties, production of educational material, evaluation of trainees, organization of projects and cross-curricular projects. An important issue that occupied educators was the process and the production of educational material which they should be obliged to send to the coordinator electronically and be kept in an electronic archive so that to be reusable after defining the specifications for ensuring quality and uniformity and compatibility with the adult trainee needs. The educators were interested in good practices and how their colleagues functioned in other SCSs and exchange educational material since most were obliged to create their own material from scratch (Parnassas et al. 2007:116-119). What was noticed is that colleagues' experience from SCSs in other countries prevailed with 92.2% and special knowledge for each subject (syllabus, bibliography) with 89.1%. According to data gathered from interviews with the regional advisors, the training organizer and the headteachers, in-school training was happening unofficially in each SCS and in the prefecture level by the regional advisor. The challenge would be to study specific cases and be indicated as good practices such as the case of

Kioulanis and Papavlasopoulos (2007), be standardized and become official so that to counterbalance the delay of training meetings that usually happened after Christmas and that would facilitate the newcomers in SCSs.

These evaluations highlighted some of the inefficiencies of the programme of SCSs, the difficulties educators had and the disjunctions between the expectations they had from the training and what was actually delivered.

In summary

In this chapter a historical overview of the development of adult education in Greece was provided in order to understand the acute conditions that had to be overcome and under which the SCSs' birth agenda happened. At the same time, the broader framework of the development of LLL was presented, within the European policy of educational reform and its directions towards identifying common goals of upgrading unskilled, uneducated people by bringing them back into mainstream education.

CHAPTER THREE: POLICY LITERATURE

Introduction

In this chapter I offer a theoretical framework of different aspects of the policy development. This literature deals with: the perceived need for educational reform at the macro level; how it was affected by the notions of globalization and Europeanisation; how policy is defined; how the policy discourse changed and was interpreted; how it affected teachers, their professionalization and the absence of professionalization for adult language teachers.

3.1 The Need for Reform

The need for educational reform in recent years has become a global imperative. This is not about changing the organization of things as they are but about changing teachers and learning, educational institutions and their relations to the economy, to economic competitiveness and the expansive use of information technology. Ball (2008:8) suggests it is about rethinking, or 'reimagining', education in a global context that is related to 'the knowledge economy' and to generic policy technologies. It is also linked to the 'necessarian logic' of parties like New Labour that imposes the 'joining up' of social and educational policies; the subordination of education to economic imperatives; policy convergence, across countries and across sectors; the changing form of the state; the production of 'new learners'; and the 'privatisation' of public sector education. A recurring theme in this remaking of education is the relationship between education policy and the economy or educational policy and social class. In these relationships there might well be contradictions between the requirements and necessities of the management of population, that is, social authority, citizenship and social welfare as against the economic competitiveness of the state.

Education reform, issues of policy transfer and 'borrowing', 'convergence' and the changing spatial configurations of policy and policy making have been dominated by the perspective of economics. Education has been viewed as a producer of labour, skills and of values like enterprise and entrepreneurship, and of commercial 'knowledge', in order to respond to the requirements of international economic competition. This primary focus on the economic value of education has led to an increasing neglect of the social purposes of education.

This shift is reflected in a variety of commentaries on policy texts. It is called 'the accepted need' by McCaig (2001:189) and 'the necessarian logic of [New Labour's] political economy' by Watson and Hay (2003:295). Cowen (1996:151) describes it as the "astonishing displacement of society" within the late modern educational pattern. Lingard et al. (1998:84) talk about education as being increasingly subject to 'the normative assumptions and prescriptions of economism' while Tony Blair in one of his early speeches as Prime Minister (1997-2007) said: "education is our best economic policy...It is the only vision, in my view, that will work in the 21st century" (Blair, 2005a). The ideas of transformation, modernisation, innovation, enterprise, dynamism, creativity and competitiveness get into political rhetoric and policy development as an ensemble signifying the sense of the pace, movement and constant change leading to a new era.

According to Ball (2006:43) what we need in policy analysis is "a toolbox of diverse concepts and theories" in order to "balance the modernist theoretical project of abstract parsimony" and a post-modernist localised "complexity". This polarisation of parsimony and complexity are part of the recent debate about the purposes of policy-sociology (Ozga, 1987, 1990; Ball, 1990). Ozga (1990:359-360) suggests that it is important to bring together structural, macro-level analysis of education systems and education policies and micro level investigation taking into account people's perceptions and experiences while criticising ad hocery, serendipity, muddle and negotiation in policy making. This is the point where complexity lies for Ball (2006:43), who sees the challenge as relating "the ad hocery of the macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systematic bases and effects of ad hoc social actions. It involves rethinking of the simplicities of the structure/agency dichotomy" "and shows how agency and structure are implicit in each other, rather than being the two poles of a continuum" (Harker and May, 1997:177). We live and think structures rather than feel oppressed or limited by them. Consequently, before getting deeply into the particular case it is useful to have a macro view of the global, the European and then the national level policy.

3.2 Globalisation

Globalisation as a term is ubiquitous in current policy texts and policy analysis because it is a key in articulating the 'problems' of policy and the spatial framework within which policy discourses and policy are formulated. Ball (2008), explaining globalisation, says that on one hand, what it means and how it impacts

on the nation-state produces a set of imperatives for policy at the national level and a particular way of thinking about education and its contemporary problems and purposes. On the other hand, the nation-state is no longer adequate, on its own as a space within which to think about policy. "Policies are 'made' in response to globalisation and those responses are variously driven or influenced by their take-up of supranational agencies, the policy work of intellectual and practical policy 'fads' and the resulting 'flow' of policies between countries" (Ball, 2008:25). There are two developed forms of interpretation: one is the 'one world' thesis that is based on the question of the future of the nation-state as a political and cultural entity, articulated through four interrelated literatures: economic, political, cultural and social, with priority given to the economic aspect. This is exactly the case with Greece, being influenced by European policies at all levels. Ball (2008:25) argues that " the focus is on whether, within the context of global economic change, individual nation-states retain their capacity to steer and manage their own economies in the face of the power of 'rootless' multinational corporations, the ebb and flow of global financial markets, facilitated by ICT and trade deregulation, and the spread of modern post-Fordist industrial production". The second interpretation is the 'relational' or 'vernacular' interpretation of globalisation which rests on whether individual nation-states are losing their political autonomy to the increasing influence of supranational organisations such as the World Bank, World Trade Organisation, OECD and regional states and organisations, like the EU.

In terms of culture, the argument is that we are experiencing the creation of a 'McWorld' which is driven by the interests of the global cultural industries, of 'global brands' such as Nike, McDonald's, Coca-Cola, etc., by Americanisation or westernisation, disseminated by global media - television, film and the internet. All this unifying and homogenising experience affects the continuity of vitality and independence of national and local cultures. In social terms, the personal, social experience has been altered by the economic flows of globalisation as well as space and time compressions. This has a deep effect on us emotionally. Elliott and Lemert (2006:90-91) describe 'the emotional costs of globalisation', while Giddens (1996:367) argues that "globalisation is not just an 'out there' phenomenon. It refers not only to the emergence of large scale world systems, but to transformations in the very texture of everyday life". Greek people have realized this very well from personal experience after the economic crisis of 2009.

The impact of globalisation on educational policy is understood better by looking at the work of four multilateral agencies: the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the EU. These organisations act either directly or indirectly on national education policy making in order to reframe thinking or even to rework the political and economic possibilities within which this thinking is set. Education policies are formed within the EU, developed in relation to the supposed pressures of international economic competition and the knowledge society, which changed the meaning of education and what it means 'to be educated', as well as creating the notion of a new kind of flexible, lifelong learner. Education policy can therefore no longer be understood within the limited framework of the nation-state or seen as separate from economic policy.

Globalization has many complex effects and one of them is to try and bring education systems into harmony to some extent because of globalised labour movement across borders. The global movement of labour and the economic changes are parts of globalization that have significant consequences for education systems. People have to be able to speak to one another because they immediately have to communicate if borders are taken down; they need to move and use their qualifications to get employed. The issue of reform is a very complicated set of ideas that includes social, human, global tendencies, economic changes, employment as well as national and local characteristics. All these factors work in combination with one another, but what seems to be stronger than the rest is the economy, which can lead the rest in a domino effect.

National policies are therefore produced through influences and interdependencies that result in 'interconnectedness, multiplexity and hybridisation' through 'the intermingling of global, distant and local logics' (Amin, 1997:129). There is a need to attend to the local particularities of policy making and policy enactment as well as the need to be aware of the general patterns, commonalities and convergences across localities (Whitty and Edwards, 1998). There is the possibility for globalisation to reduce the autonomy and specificity of the national and the local in all the dimensions: economically, politically, culturally, while at the same time ideas are received and interpreted differently within different political architectures, national infrastructures, national ideologies and business cultures (Ball, 2008:30). These factors result in certain policies being taken up in different nations especially in the field of education.

As Ball points out in the *Education Debate* (2008) it is indisputable that there is convergence towards 'global policyspeak' (Novoa, 2002) amongst the nation-state education systems and this becomes important in understanding national education policies. Education policy has become a major political issue, a major focus of media attention and the recipient of a constant stream of initiatives and interventions from governments all around the world within the context of globalisation, its pressures and requirements, capitalism and the pressure for economic productivity and competitiveness, information technology and neo-liberalism. Many education policies are imported from the US, the World Bank, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union, for example, the use of quasi-markets, understandings of quality assurance and education as a business opportunity (Ball, 2008:1). The Maastricht Treaty embodied notions of restructuring education and training. Its focus point was the internationalisation of the European labour market and an educational shift towards a Life-Long Learning society. The Treaty set out some common goals to promote competitiveness through labour mobility and through the creation of a 'European citizen'. Education and training were the focus of attention and new programmes were provided for adult learners, including work-based learning, part-time and distance learning.

Care and attention is needed in analysing the flow and influence of policies between nations because ideas, knowledge, culture and artefacts are not assimilated the same way into different national settings as they are positioned differently in relation to the structures and effects of globalisation. According to Lingard and Rizvi (2000: 2100) "globalisation does not impinge on all nation-states and at all times in exactly the same way and domestic capacities differ. Some states are more able and more likely to deflect or mediate global policy trends while others are required to accept and respond to external reform imperatives".

Giddens (1996: 367-8) argues that: "globalisation invades local contexts it does not destroy them; on the contrary, new forms of local cultural identity and self-expression are causally bound up with globalising processes". This is what Robertson (1995:100) called 'glocalisation', that is the simultaneity and the interpenetration of the global and the local. Ball accepts that:

> national policy making is inevitably a process of bricolage, a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, drawing on and amending locally tried-and-tested approaches, cannibalising theories, research, trends and fashions, responding to media 'panics' and not infrequently a flailing around for anything at all that looks as though it might work. Most policies are ramshackle,

> compromise, hit-and-miss affairs that are reworked, tinkered with, nuanced and infected through complex processes of influence, text production, dissemination and ultimately recreation in diverse contexts of practice (Ball, 1994).

In summary, some of the key concepts of educational policy are globalisation/glocalisation, the knowledge economy and policy technologies which include the market, management and performativity constituting a set of policies, an ensemble of generic policies that have global currency.

3.3 Knowledge Economy

The term 'knowledge economy' is used widely in education policy but as a concept it is elusive. It relates to the development of skills and 'new knowledge' "used to build a true enterprise economy for the 21st century-where we compete on brains, not brawn" (Tony Blair, Colorado Alliance for Arts Education, www. Artsedcolorado.org/). The knowledge economy "derives from the idea that knowledge and education can be treated as a business product, and that educational and innovative intellectual products and services, as productive assets, can be exported for a high-value return" (Ball, 2008:19). The term was drawn originally from a book, *The Effective Executive,* by Drucker (1966) to indicate the distinction between manual workers producing goods with their hands and knowledge workers producing ideas, knowledge and information with their heads. Ball (2008:20) argues that "the knowledge-based economy is "one in which the generation and the exploitation of knowledge has come to play the predominant part in the creation of wealth" and that "this has a whole variety of implications for education and education policy" (www.dti.gov.uk/comp/competitive/wh_int1.htm).

One critique of the knowledge economy discourse as it weaves into national education policies is that knowledge becomes commodified; the primacy of human relationships is denied and the social is erased. Slater and Tonkiss, for example, (2001:162) argue that the world shifts from social values to a world where "...everything is viewed in terms of quantities; everything is simply a sum of value realised or hoped for".

A further criticism raises questions about whether the real significance of the knowledge economy has been over-emphasised and over-simplified. Ball, for example, argues that "the main areas of recent economic growth and expansion of jobs in countries like the UK and the US rest not on knowledge but on 'service'" (Ball, 2008:20). A third criticism raises questions about the ways in which

technological developments, investments in innovation and research and in educational expansion reinforce systematic social inequalities and social polarisation. The world is separated into 'wired' and 'unwired' worlds since many countries and many people are not 'connected' electronically and do not participate in the knowledge economy. Ball (2008:24) argues that "These gaps and inequalities are evident within as well as between countries".

3.4 Defining Policy

There are conceptual problems in defining what policy is as it is used to describe very different things at different points. For Ball (2006:44) "much rests on the meaning or possible meanings that we give to policy; it affects how we search and how we interpret what we find". He inhabits two very different conceptualisations of policy: policy as text and policy as discourse while their differences "are rather dramatic and in sociological terms rather hoary and traditional and they reiterate the Bourdieurian dichotomy... [while] policy is not the one or the other, but both, they are 'implicit in each other". Policies are not things but rather processes and outcomes that include policy discourses and policy texts. Ball (2006:44) defined both terms in the Foucauldian sense, as regulated practice that accounts for statements, rather than the linguistic sense of language in use for "policy discourses that produce frameworks of sense and obviousness with which policy is thought, talked and written about. Policy texts are set within these frameworks which constrain but never determine all of the possibilities for action".

Because of the Greek origin of the word policy I would like to define it according to Babiniotis (2002:1440). In a Greek language dictionary "policy is:

- o the total of subjects that are related to common (community) life of a social community, the total of practices of governing a nation and the relations among nations;
- o the way of acting in the framework of a political system;
- o the way in which a nation behaves towards its relations with other nations;
- o the way of action of an organisation and the skilful handling (manipulation) (with indirect means, with diplomacy) for the attainment of the desired aim while from the 3rd century AD it meant prostitute, whore".

It is possible to explain the multiple meanings of the words in English starting from policy as action for organising common, social life, the action of dealing with the political subjects within the nation and abroad, and even the intrigues and the underground processes that work at other levels. I would define policy from a Greek filtered perspective as acting, negotiating, regulating, adjusting, controlling the obvious levels of social, political and economic life and the underground ones, behind the scenes that always played an important role in history and do even today seem to be more powerful because of the effect of globalisation and Europeanisation, especially for my country.

Taylor et al. (1997:5) define policy as "an instrument through which change is mapped onto existing policies, programmes or organizations, and onto the demands made by particular interest groups. To put forward a policy is to acknowledge that a new policy was needed or that the old policy needed to be revised in response to the changes occurring in society". They explain that policies serve to manage change but how this management occurs varies greatly from policy to policy and site to site, noting that the relationship between policy and change is indeed complex because it links with other policy fields too. Taylor et al. (1997:10) believe that radical policy statements cannot be achieved as they are currently employed by the educational bureaucracies and since policy is achieved in tentative and incremental steps, each of which involves exercise of power. Public policies are located within a broader legal and political framework. They state that "Governments develop policies not only in response to public pressure but also because they can secure some electoral advantage in taking the lead on some issues" (Taylor et al. 1997:10).

Hill (2005) defines policy as one of those obvious terms we all use but use differently and often loosely. The meaning of policy is something that has been written about at length. Evans et al. (2008) define it as, for the most part, a common-sense concept, as something constructed within government-what we might call big-P policy that is 'formal' and usually legislated policy. Ball (2008:7) notes that it is necessary to remain aware that policies are made and remade in many sites and that there are many little-p policies that are formed and enacted within localities and institutions, reworked over time through reports, speeches, and agendas. Policy is not a product or outcome but a process that is ongoing, interactional and unstable. This last point resonates with Considine's view on policy (1994:3-4):

> In a sense everything in the policy world is really just process, the
> movement of people and programs around common problems such

as education, transport and employment. None of the initiatives in these fields stays fixed for very long because the problems themselves keep moving and changing. We cannot afford, therefore, to view policy as just a study of decisions or programs.

Taylor et al. (1997:19) conceptualise education as a moral idea linked to the concerns of social justice. Their view is that education has both individual and social purposes: "it seeks both to instil those capacities and qualities in students that help them to lead creative and fulfilling lives and to create conditions necessary for the development of a caring and equitable society" a concept consistent with John Dewey's (1958) view that education is essentially about the development of democratic communities in which everyone can feel free and capable of participating. According to Taylor et al. (1997:24-25) policy is a process that refers to the politics involved in the recognition of a 'problem' which requires a policy response, through the formulation and implementation stages, including changes made along the way struggled over by competing interests. Policy processes are therefore ongoing and dynamic, which explains the difficulty in defining policy as a term since it is complex, interactive and multi-layered.

Taylor et al. (1997:15-17) arrived at certain conclusions about policies that justify the above points:

- **Policy is more than the text.** The nuances and subtleties of the context cannot be overlooked because they give meaning and significance to the text and make policies dynamic and interactive and not a set of instructions or intentions.

- **Policy is multi-dimensional.** Each of the policy players contributes in some way to the way this policy develops and works to policy outcomes. They do not all influence this process equally and there is often conflict and contradiction between the perspectives or interests of those involved and not all players benefit equally.

- **Policy is value-laden.** Values permeate policy processes. The restructuring of education bureaucracies is often justified on the grounds of efficiency and effectiveness but the question remains on whose definition and in whose interests?

- **Policies exist in context.** State policies do not materialize from nowhere. There is always a prior history of significant events, a particular ideological and political climate, a social and economic context, and often particular individuals as well. These factors influence the shape and timing of policies as well as their evolution and their outcomes.

- **Policy making is a state activity.** Education policy making belongs to the realm of public or social policy-a state or government activity. However, the state is a complex beast. It is not a single entity and policies are formed in a context of differing agendas, interests and expectations of different departments or even units within departments, even with the private sector.

- **Education policies interact with policies in other fields.** This is not always self-evident, but even seemingly self-contained school-based policies can usually be seen to be connected in some way with broader policy developments.

- **Policy implementation is never straightforward.** Implementation of policy is often viewed as the link between policy production and policy practice. It occurs in a highly complex social environment, with official policy agendas seldom intersecting with local interests.

- **Policies result in unintended as well as intended consequences.** Policy making is a precarious business, the consequences of which are unpredictable given the complex interrelationship of contextual factors, different and sometimes opposing interests, linguistic ambiguities and the variety of key players involved in policy processes.

3.5 Language and Discourse in Policy

Ball (2008:5) argues that "policies are very specific and practical regimes of truth and value and the ways in which policies are spoken about, their vocabularies, are part of the creation of their conditions of acceptance and enactment. They construct the inevitable and the necessary". Within policy discourse individuals and groups of 'policy intellectuals' play an important role by establishing credibility and 'truthfulness' by putting 'faces' to policies and by providing ways of thinking and talking about policies that make them sound reasonable and sensible solutions to social and economic problems. "Policy discourses... organize their own specific rationalities, making particular sets of ideas obvious, common sense and 'true'. Discourses mobilize truth claims and constitute rather than simply reflect social reality" (Ball, 2008:5). Edwards et al., (1999:620) point out that "Language is deployed in the attempt to produce certain meanings and effects" while Gee et al., (1996:10) believe that "Discourses also produce social positions from which people are invited to speak, listen, act, read, work, think, feel, behave and value". Discourse works at different levels.

The discourses in a variety of diverse policy settings are important in two ways: first they contribute to the construction of the need for reform; secondly they provide 'appropriate' policy responses and solutions which privilege certain social goals and emphasise the economic role of education. According to Ball (2008:13) "policies are both systems of values and symbolic systems, ways of accounting for and legitimating political decisions. In both respects the language of policy is important. Part of the work of policy is done in and through policy texts, written and spoken, and the ways in which these represent subjects-teachers, learners, managers, etc". He adds that "Policies to greater or lesser extent have a semantic and ontological force". That is, they play their role in the construction of a social world of meanings, of causes, of relationships, of imperatives and inevitabilities. It is by attending to the changes in policy language and rhetoric's that we realise that policies 'join up' within and across policy fields, despite their contradictions and embedded incoherencies. However, policy also works in practical and material ways through policy devices or technologies such as choice, performance management and competition. Policies are represented and disseminated through 'policy texts', that is documents and speeches that 'articulate' policies and policy ideas, which work to translate policy abstractions and public sector reform into roles and relationships and practices within institutions that enact policy and change what people do and how they think about what they do. The use of language is really important in policy making as "many of the terms in use in policy analysis and in policy texts are slippery and consequently clear meanings are often elusive" (Ball, 2008:6). An example of this point relevant to the current research relates to Life-Long Learning, which remained at the heart of the EU's education policy during the whole decade 2000-2010. There were conflicting forces both within the European Councils and within country members that can be regarded as contradictions. An example of such ambiguity was presented in the Lisbon Presidential Conclusions (European Council, Presidency Conclusions, 2000) in 2.2.

A policy analysis requires an understanding of both the overall and localised outcomes of policy based on the changing relationships between constraints and agency and their inter-penetration. If policy analysis concentrates too much on what those who make the policy think about and how thought and action are related they might miss what they do not think about, 'the bigger picture' as Ozga (1990) calls it. Ball (2006) supports the need to appreciate the way in which "policy ensembles, collections of related policies, exercise power through a production of 'truth' and 'knowledge', as discourses. Discourses are 'practices that

systematically form the objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention" (Foucault, (1977a, b: 49) as cited in Ball (2006:48). According to the same source:

> Discourses are about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed. Words are ordered and combined in particular ways and other combinations are displaced or excluded...We do not speak a discourse, it speaks to us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows. We do not 'know' what we say, we 'are' what we say and do. In these terms we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies. This is a system of practices and a set of values and ethics.

Said (1986:152) stated that "Discourses get things done, accomplish real tasks, gather authority" that leads to the point that the actions of the state are also the product of discourse, points in the scale of power, although discourses are typically formed and legitimated in particular institutional sites like the state. Even the state power is among diverse specific fields of knowledge, local constraints and challenging particular events. Ball (2006:49) claims that: "discourses of different sorts, with different histories, clash and grate against one another. Dominant discourses pre-suppose their opposite".

The influence of globalization is clear in changes to the European political discourse. As it was noted in 2.2 key words like 'globalisation', 'the rise of new information technologies', the 'ageing society' appeared at an international level, while in Europe they became the driving forces towards a Single European Market and LLL became the tool of implementing the new strategies. LLL became the 'strategic idea' (CEDEFOP, 2003:1) that should be used to meet the new social and economic challenges. The above discourse affected the national discourse of developing LLL.

3.6 Multiple interpretations of policies

Following Ball's (2006:44) theory, policies can be seen "as representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context)". Codd (1988:239) added that "a policy is both contested and changing, always in a state of 'becoming', of 'was' and 'never was' and 'not

quite'; for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings". The significance of readings of policy is important to its readers but authors cannot control the meanings of their texts, although efforts are made to assert control on the texts and some texts are framed by or have embedded in them the weight, the measure, or requirement. Giddens (1987:105-107) points out that readers should pay attention to the writers' context of production and communicative intent. Of equal importance is to recognise that the policies themselves, the texts are not necessarily clear or closed or complete and that they are the products of compromises at various stages. Ball (2006:45) comments that, "they are typically the cannibalised products of multiple (but circumscribed) influences and agendas. There is ad hocery, negotiation and serendipity within the state, within the policy formulation process". Nevertheless he argues that only certain influences and agendas are recognised as legitimate, only certain voices are heard within the process of policy making, that "quibbling and dissensus still occur within the babble of 'legitimate' voices and sometimes the effects of quibbling and dissensus result in a blurring of meanings within texts, and in public confusion and a dissemination of doubt". In addition to the above point, Ball (2006:45) said that:

> Policies shift and change, their meaning in the arenas of politics; representations change, key interpreters (secretaries of state, ministers, Chairs of Councils) change (sometimes the change in key actors is a deliberate tactic for changing the meaning of policy). Policies have their own momentum inside the state; purposes and intentions are re-worked and re-oriented over time. The problems faced by the state change over time. Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests.

At all stages of the policy process there are different interpretations of policy or what Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) call 'interpretations of interpretations'. Ball (2006) insists that interpretational attempts to represent policy build up over time and they spread confusion and allow for playing in and off of meanings that leave gaps and spaces for action and response. As a result:

> the physical text that pops through the school letterbox, or wherever, does not arrive 'out of the blue', it has an interpretational and representational history, neither does it enter a social or institutional vacuum. The text and its readers and the context of response all have histories. Policies enter existing patterns of inequality, e.g. the structure of local markets, local class relations, local distributions of facilities and resources. They 'impact' or are taken up differently as a result. Policy is not exterior to inequalities, although it may change them, it is also affected, inflected and deflected by them (Ball, 2006:45).

Policy is a multi-level process, defined and redefined at each level of the process so that the kind of discourse that is used becomes a problem.

Policy ensembles that include the market, management, appraisal and performativity are seen in Foucault's terms as 'regimes of truth' through which people govern themselves and others. This is based on the production and transformation and effects of true/false distinctions and the application of science and hierarchisation to 'problems' in education (Smart, 1986:164). These new sciences of education are supported and legitimated by a set of specific intellectuals through struggle, dispute, conflict and adjustment in a pre-established terrain. There are real struggles over the interpretation and enactment of policies within a moving discursive frame. As Ball (2006:148) sets it: "We read and respond to policies in discursive circumstances that we cannot, or perhaps do not, normally think about".

The new roles are achieved through the right new actor in the scene of public sector organisations, the manager. The term 'educational management', first used in the 1970s, brought with it 'a set of methods, ideals and concepts (objectives, resources, performance, monitoring, and accountability) from the private sector'. Ball (2008:43) argues that: "Significant education policy shifts from the 1980s on gave managers devolved powers to control their organisational budgets, their workforce and internal decision making in innovative and creative ways to achieve new goals and purposes". This new paradigm of public service organisations brings the use of new language; the organisations are peopled by 'human resources' that need to be managed, learning is re-rendered as a 'cost-effective policy outcome' while achievement is a set of productivity targets. Also embedded in this is the intellectual work done on and in the 'politics of truth' by the advocates and technicians of policy change, and the 'will to power' and desire of those who find themselves the beneficiaries of new power relations, where power is 'exercised in the effect of one action on another action' (Hoy, 1986:135).

Apart from the notion of interpretation, the notion of power is also very important in understanding policy, which often posits a restructuring, redistribution and disruption of power relations, so that different people can and cannot make claims to be able to do different things. According to Foucault (1981:94) power is productive wherever it comes into play. Ball (2006:47) agrees that: "Power is multiplicitous, overlain, interactive and complex, policy texts enter rather than simply change power relations. Hence again the complexity of the relationship

between policy intentions, texts, interpretations and reactions". Offe (1984:106) expresses a similar view by saying that state policy 'establishes the location and timing of the contest, its subject matter and the rules of the game'; and practice and the effects of policy cannot be simply read-off from texts but are the outcome of conflict and struggle between 'interests' in context.

At this point, the definition of power by Foucault, (1981:92) is needed: "Power may be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organisation". Ball (2006:49) gives a final comment by saying that:

> the effect of policy is primarily discursive, it changes the possibilities we have for thinking 'otherwise', thus it limits our responses to change, and leads us to misunderstand what policy is by misunderstanding what it does. Further, policy as discourse may have the effect of redistributing 'voice'. So that it does not matter what some people say or think, only certain voices can be heard as meaningful or authoritative.

That leads to the next section where teachers' views are not taken into consideration in the policy formation process.

3.7 Teachers and Policy

Teaching in the twenty-first century, a century characterized by uncertainty, change and instability, must be seen as a complex, multilayered and multifaceted occupation where responsiveness and flexibility, the ability to make informed judgments and to apply imagination, are all essential requirements (Menter, in Gewirtz et al. (2009:227). In a similar way teachers responded differently to exerting influence on policy and shaping their own practice from one country to the other according to Day and Sachs (2004). Hudson (2007) supports the view that there is diversity in how different governments restructure their education systems that leads to different implications on teachers' professional and personal identities and autonomy by adopting either a national prescriptive curriculum or a goal-oriented curriculum where teachers "rely on a more personalized type of professionalism emphasizing teachers' knowledge, competence and performance as individual properties" (Helgoy et al., 2007:200).

Although the national differences remain it still comprises a global phenomenon apparently contradictory in education policy discourse, what Robertson (2007) calls a recent 'tectonic shift' with the regulation and standardisation components on one side of the discourse and devolution, diversity and individualism on the

other. This leads to complex and uneven transformations in teacher identities, roles and working lives and implications for effective professional learning and professional practice. These implications are concerned first with the changing political and social context of public sector professional work, secondly, with changes in the working lives, experiences, roles and identities of teachers and thirdly with exploring teachers' professional practices in order to be enhanced. All these implications overlap and interrelate and:

> Any analysis of the policy context of teaching and learning is inevitably going to be informed by an interest in the practices that take place within, are shaped by and shape that context; in order to understand the working lives and identities of teachers we need to pay attention to the climates within which those lives are lived and out of which those identities are constructed; and finally, anyone interested in enhancing professional learning needs to attend to the policies, and the teacher identities and subjectivities, which can make enhanced professional learning and practice possible or constrain its realisation (Gewirtz et al., 2009:6).

Taylor et al. (1997:6-7) suggest that governments attempt to reform education with a plethora of policies that are simply thrown at teachers and explained in a confused way to those who have to implement them. Teachers internationally have increasingly felt excluded from policy development although the system makes stringent demands on them for greater accountability, and they are expected to produce change prescribed by particular policies. However, they are seldom given the opportunity to explore these policies in relation to their own values and traditions. Taylor et al. (1997:7) state that:

> Their [the teachers'] understanding of policies is therefore often limited or skewed, and what is subsequently produced in practice often bears little resemblance to the original intentions... While many feel anxious about how new policies might have implications for their practice, others simply reject the idea that policies are important and thus find little reason to change existing practices.

Some policies can cause changes but that depends mostly on who implements the policy. Riseborough, in a study of how teachers respond to policy, draws attention to the importance of 'secondary adjustments' in teachers' engagement with policy: "teachers can create, through a repertoire of individual and collective... strategies, an empirically rich under-life to policy intention" (Riseborough, 1992:37). Ball (2006) comments on this "under-life" by saying that:

> We have failed to research, analyse and conceptualise this under-life, the 'secondary adjustments' which relate teachers to policy and to the state in different ways. We tend to begin by assuming the adjustment of teachers and context to policy but not of policy to context. There is a privileging of the policymaker's reality. The crude

and over-used term resistance is a poor substitute here which allows for both rampant over-claims and dismissive under-claims to bring about the way policy problems are solved in context.

The teachers' role therefore is not solely to teach following the curriculum but to adopt multiple roles by understanding the underlying policy, to be strong emotionally, good organizers and socially competent (Campbell, 1977:58; Mocker and Noble 1981:45-46). Robertson (2000:209-210) suggests that there are five identifiable teacher identities:

- Teacher bricoleur-problem solving
- Teacher manager-social efficiency
- Teacher entrepreneur-doing well
- Temporary teacher-filling in
- Service teacher-doing good.

To this list Menter in Gewirtz et al. (2009:224) adds one more identity:

- Travelling teacher-moving practice.

These identities can be multiple and open–ended in an 'information society' and a 'knowledge-based economy' since the roles and responsibilities of the teachers seem to be greater than ever. Learning is predominantly a social process that needs language and interaction, associated with the individual destiny. In the light of the social significance of teachers' work, teachers need to be able to contribute significantly to the development of education policy and practice through networks of professional discourse, research and development (Edwards et al. 2002).

Teaching is making choices either by theorising practice or practicing theory. Teachers receive what speaks to their own experience and they become attuned to certain ideas when what they are working on needs deepening their own learning about teaching. At the heart of professional discourse and professional learning communities is the following kind of constructivist learning. Exploring the types of knowledge that are associated with teachers' learning, it was found that there are three conceptions of such knowledge, according to Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) as cited in Sachs in Sucrue (2008: 199):

- *Knowledge-for-practice:* knowledge generated by researchers outside the school (for example research-based programmes, new theories of teaching, learning and assessment).

- *Knowledge-of-practice:* generated by teachers critically examining their own classroom and schools, alone or with others, in terms of broader issues of social justice, equity and student achievement.
- *Knowledge-in-practice:* teachers' practical knowledge generated through their own systematic inquiry, stimulated by raised questions concerning their own classroom effectiveness.

To this triad, Day and Sachs (2004) added a fourth one:

- *Knowledge of self:* generated by teachers engaging regularly in reflection in, on and about values, purposes, emotions and relationships.

This type of knowledge provides the necessary social link for collaborative learning to take place. It is the personal aspirations of teachers for ongoing learning envisaged as a fundamental part of their practice both inside and outside their classrooms linked with professional relationships. All these four types of knowledge form professional experience, the knowledge teachers talk about which can stand alone or intersect with each other.

3.8 The discourse of professionalism

The discourse of professionalism entered a wide range of occupations and organisational work places, used as a marketing tool in attracting customers in advertising, in managerial literature and in training manuals (Fournier, 1999). Even occupational regulation and control are explained as a means to improvement of professionalism. There is a shift away from the concepts of profession as a distinct and generic category of occupational work and professionalization as the process to pursue, develop and maintain the occupational group that led towards the concept of professionalism. The discourse of professionalism can be analysed as a powerful instrument of occupational change and social control at macro, meso and micro levels and in a wide range of occupations in very different work, organisational and employment relations, contexts and conditions (Evetts in Gewirtz et al., 2009:20). Evetts advocates that there are three different developed interpretations of professionalism:

- Professionalism as an occupational value
- Professionalism as an ideology; professionalization as market closure;
- Professionalism as a discourse of occupational change and managerial control.

Additionally she states that a consequence of current changes is the existence of the two types of professionalism: occupational professionalism and organisational professionalism.

The discourse of professionalism varies among different occupational groups and according to McClelland's categorisation (1990:170) it can be used as a differentiation between professionalization 'from within' (that is successful manipulation of the market by the group) and 'from above' (domination of forces external to the group) (Evetts, 2003). When professionalism comes 'from within' the occupational group, it uses the discourse successfully by constructing its occupational identity, promoting its image and bargaining with the state to maintain its regulatory responsibilities. It secures its own occupational and practitioner interests as a way of promotion and protection of the public interest. But in most cases in contemporary public service occupations professionalism is imposed 'from above' where the discourse of professionalism evolves round dedicated service and autonomous decision making. Evetts (in Gewirtz et al., 2009:22) states that:

> When the discourse is constructed 'from above', then often it is imposed and a false or selective discourse is used to promote and facilitate occupational (rationalization) and as a disciplinary mechanism of autonomous subjects exercising appropriate conduct. This discourse of professionalism is grasped and welcomed by the occupational group since it is perceived to be a way of improving the occupation's status and rewards, collectively and individually.

In this case control is exercised by the organisational managers and supervisors having organisational objectives. These can be political in their origin. They define the relations of practitioner/client, set achievement targets and performance indicators which finally regulate and replace occupational control of the practitioner/client work interactions limiting discretion as a consequence and preventing the service ethic so important in professional work. Evetts (in Gewirtz et al., 2009:23) distinguishes between organisational professionalism and occupational professionalism as two different, contrasting forms in knowledge-based societies of today.

Evetts (in Gewirtz et al., 2009:24) advocates that:

> In these cases the appeal to professionalism is a powerful mechanism for promoting occupational change and social control. The appeal to the discourse by managers in work organisations is to a myth or an ideology of professionalism (Evetts 2003), which includes aspects such as exclusive ownership of an area of expertise, autonomy and discretion in work practices and the occupational control of the work. But the reality of the

professionalism that is actually involved is very different. The appeal to the discourse of professionalism by managers most often includes the substitution of organisational for professional values; bureaucratic, hierarchical and managerial controls rather than collegial relations; managerial and organisational objectives rather than client trust based on competencies and perhaps licensing; budgetary restrictions and financial rationalizations; the standardization of work practices rather than discretion; and performance targets, accountability and sometimes increased political controls.

In defining the notion of professionalism two senses of it will be outlined: the idealistic one that sees it as a mode of social coordination and the critical one as shorthand for a shifting and contested set of occupational virtues. The first mode points towards profession as an occupational classification while the second points to professional virtues categorized as technical and ethical standards on the part of occupational roles. Gewirtz et al., (2009:3) argue that in conceiving professionalism idealistically emphasis is placed on specialist-expertise and the associated virtues of trustworthiness, collegiality and service. In conceiving professionalism critically emphasis is placed on the exclusionary nature of professions and the self-interested ideologies underpinning and masking their claims to special status and influence over others. They claim that in order for teacher professionalism to be understood, all these elements of professionalism should be worked together: a genuine concern about standards and ethics, 'doing one's job well', a legitimating discourse of reproducing particular forms of classed, 'raced' and gendered identity, power and in/exclusion as well as both the ideas of 'profession' and 'professionalism' in play. If these elements are separated then labelling teachers as professionals would lose its symbolic connotations and questions about whether teaching is a profession or a semi-profession or whether it is deprofessionalized or reprofessionalized would emerge.

The importance should lay on what makes a good teacher and how teaching might be enhanced. These two questions are interrelated and they offer a useful link of the complexity and contested concept of professionalism in 'The Third Logic' by Freidson (2001). In his analysis, professionalism is a mode of social coordination that competes with, and provides some insulation from both market and bureaucratic forms of organisation, while professions are occupational groupings that exercise high degrees of control over the conditions and conduct of their work. This arrangement provides a mechanism for the organisation of some social aspects in such a way that it deploys specialist knowledge. In this professional mode the main component is trust which entails a contract between professionals and the wider society in which professional groups provide expertise

and standards and in return they are trusted to do their job. Gewirtz et al. (2009:4) add that in order to function in this way:

> Professionalism needs to be both a regime of control and an ideology-that is professional groups need a certain amount of social power and collective autonomy and need to show why professionals can and ought to be trusted. For teachers, in other words, a concern with 'doing a good job' cannot be separated out from a concern about individual and collective teacher autonomy and teacher power because 'doing a good job' involves being in a position to fully deploy one's expertise and to shape what gets done.

In the language of OECD (1995:75), 'monitoring systems' and the 'production of information' are at the heart of the public sector's reform. The teachers are subject to a myriad of judgements, measures, comparisons and targets through different agents and agencies that monitor their performance by peer reviews, site visits and inspections. That creates a high degree of uncertainty and instability. Indeed, Ball (2006:148) argues that: "we become ontologically insecure: unsure whether we are doing enough, doing the right thing, doing as much as others, or as well as others, constantly looking to improve, to be better, to be excellent. And yet it is not always very clear what is expected of us". Shore and Wright (1999:569) talk about an undeclared policy "to keep systems volatile, slippery and opaque". Simultaneously, our everyday life is flooded with indicators, comparisons, figures and forms of competition. There is no stability as purposes are made contradictory; there is blurred motivation and uncertainty of self-worth. We are uncertain of where to give priority and what aspects of our work are valued and the reasons of our actions. Ball (2006:148) adds:

> Are we doing this because it is important, because we believe in it, because it is worthwhile? Or is it being done ultimately because it will be measured or compared? It will make us look good! Do we know we are good at what we do, even if performance indicators tell us different? Do we value who we are able to be, who we are becoming in the labyrinth of performativity? Again much of this reflexivity is internalised. These things become matters of self-doubt and personal anxiety rather than public debate.

Cribb in Gewirtz et al., (2009: 37-39) states that: "as well as explicitly wrestling with these dilemmas, we often find ourselves living with and working through ambivalences and resorting to ironic role distancing in order to manage the pervasive dissonances" something that takes him to the potentially corrosive ethical effects of public sector restructuring. He supports the view that ethical positions are generated by the interaction of professional traditions, changing policy and institutional contexts, and changes are made in the salience of certain goals, in the nature and direction of obligations and in the forms of agency by

signalling the extent to which professionals are expected to act as 'delegatees' or 'delegators' as well as the extent to which they are expected to act in teams and 'interprofessionally'.

A large number of people in education yearn for something that gives them concrete policies and practices that will enable them to act practically in their own institutions against the models of (de)professionalism that are imposed on them. Apple and Beane (2007) in their book *Democratic Schools* reconstituted the public sphere based on difference, participation, voice and dissent by making public the stories of building curricula and pedagogies and by articulating policies and practices through different thinking and acting. This action of rebuilding and extending professionalism in a respectful, responsive and critical way and in terms of concrete interruptive actions can be based on critical educational practice, critical deliberation and dialogue based on the work of Paolo Freire. Simultaneously, a redistribution and recognition of professionalism's multiple dynamics of power make it more sensible to the realities of the conditions of the poor and disenfranchised (Fraser, 1997; Gandin and Apple, 2003; Gandin, 2006; Apple and Buras, 2006).

Teachers seem to be involved in the paradox of today, taking into consideration the changes they have to cope with and new ideas of professionalism. There is a contradiction of the general to the specific and of the old, the traditional and the new tendencies and trends towards teaching. This caused a lot of confusion to teachers generally and more specifically in adult education where a moral and ethical consciousness was a prerequisite in order to teach according to the principles of adult education, being near the adult students and helping them to get into mainstream education once they had decided it was the right time for them. Evetts in Gewirtz et al. (2009:19) talks about this contemporary paradox. In her view, there is an increased application of the terms profession and professionalism to work and workers in modern societies contrasted to the conditions of trust, discretion and competence. These are continually challenged, changed or regulated although they are necessary for professional practice. The knowledge-based occupations are taken to be the expanding employment categories and the growth sectors of labour markets in developed, transitional and developing societies (Lyotard, 1984; Perkin, 1988; Reed, 1996; Frenkel et al. 1995; Buchner-Jeziorska, 2001; Buchner-Jeziorska and Evetts, 1997; Hiremath and Gudagunti, 1998; Sautu, 1998). This expansion of knowledge-based work and occupations aims at producing workers who are educated and trained as well as the need of employers and managers in organisations to exert control over

knowledge and work. For Evetts in Gewirtz et al. (2009:19) "the concept of profession is not used as often outside the Anglo-American literature where it represents the category of privileged, high status, high-income occupational groups".

According to Seddon (1997) teachers are 'deprofessionalised' and 'reprofessionalised'. This is a paradox in itself when a teacher has been building his/her teaching bit by bit for years, taking into consideration learning theories, psychology theories, learning styles, age, differences of people's personalities and rhythm of learning; while trying to be the facilitator by being attentive to students' needs; by being sensible to quality and quantity since only the teacher can realize the subtle differences of the students as the architect of the classroom, how can he/she be deprofessionalised? How is it possible to reconstitute a new kind of professional (to reprofessionalise) – for teachers to become more than teachers were, be successful - taking into consideration the institutions they are working for, the competition, marketing, and the need to rework the relationships of individual commitment and action in the organization?

Professionalism acquires a new meaning through this ideological advocacy, management and direction of teachers' work and their interfacing with another side of policy and strategic vision that combines harsher measures. Jones in Gewirtz et al. (2009:56) states that "The modernization of teaching occurs in a context where managerial force and material constraint exercise a powerful influence, and where the flexibilization and in some cases casualization of teachers' work contribute to the reshaping of teacher identities". Teachers are experiencing the tensions of a neo-liberal knowledge society which exercises new kinds of skills accompanied by a loss of the capacity for self-definition both in the workplace and in the political sphere. Sachs (2003:127ff.) talks of 'new professional identities for new times', contrasting an entrepreneurial identity with a transformative identity.

3.9 Professionalisation of the adult educator and Language teaching

This research reinforces the findings of scholars elsewhere that adults with limited formal schooling can be misconceived as being incapable or ignorant, about the adult learners' sense of being diminished and uncomfortable in class because their language is deemed deficient, and about the need for professional development for adult educators (Espinosa-Herold, (2007); Bigelow, (2007);

Grant, (1997); Street, (1997)). According to Bigelow and Schwartz (2010:19), "Besides their L1 literacy and educational background, many other important factors influence L2 literacy development among adult ELLs with limited formal schooling. These factors may include age, prior proficiency in the L2, goals for learning English, economic conditions and living situations". Some other scholars such as Burt et al., (2005); Greene and Reder (1986) found that gender sometimes exerted an influence on learning but that, surprisingly, oral proficiency in another language besides L1 (not English) played no significant role in English acquisition. Juffs and Rodrigues (2008) reported that the lack of L1 literacy had a significant negative impact on phonological memory and development of L2 literacy, while lack of education outweighed all other factors influencing the performance of non-literate or very low literate adults on a neuropsychological battery (Ardila & Moreno, 2001).

Shank (1986), writing about this issue, argues that age is a significant factor in learning. He argues that adult learners differ from child learners physically since their vision changes and hearing and motor skills decline; so adults are less able to learn in conditions of mild discomfort. This proposition is supported by neurocognitive research which indicates that the maturing brain's ability to hear and process unfamiliar speech sounds declines steadily, and that adults generally have a much harder time learning the auditory aspects of a new language (Kuhl, 2000, 2004). According to Ostrosky-Solis et al., (1998) age has a strong negative effect on adults' performance on visual-perceptual and memory tasks. Williams and Chapman (2008) noted a large difference in learning rates and styles between younger non-literate adult ELLs (in their 20s) and older learners in their project.

According to Genessee et al., (2006); August & Shanahan, (2006:169) there is a notable lack of research in this field and research is needed on how adult L1 oral skills influence the development of adult L2 literacy skills, especially the role of "specific aspects of first language linguistic knowledge (e.g., cohesion, syntactic complexity), decontextualised oral language skills, range and type of vocabulary, familiarity with various discourse genres" in L2 literacy acquisition processes. That point leads to the high expectations of professional educators in the ESL field and an implication that language teacher education should be grounded in developing a teacher's ability to think critically about practice. This is about teachers developing their own repertoires of skills and relevant linguistic knowledge. Kumaravadivelu (2003:42) argues that "The primary task of in-

service and pre-service education programmes is to create conditions for present and prospective teachers to acquire the necessary knowledge, skill, authority and autonomy to construct their own personal pedagogic knowledge".

Taking stock from American literature in the field, Bigelow and Schwarz (2010:1) advocate that:

> Though research on this specific group of adult learners[L2 English Language Learners without formal education] is sparse, available findings suggest that they need programs and classes separate from those for other beginning level English language learners, with particular attention paid to cultural influences and their experiences (or lack thereof) with formal education. Those who teach these adults can benefit from professional development opportunities that focus closely on the specific backgrounds, strengths and needs of these learners.

Burt, Peyton, & Schaetzel, (2008); Johnson & Terrill, (2006) also support the view that adult ELLs who lack print literacy warrant the attention of policymakers, researchers and educators because their instructional and programmatic needs differ from those who are print-literate. Some researchers (Valenzuela, (1999); Burt, Peyton, and Adams (2003)) use the term 'literacy students' for those becoming literate in English while they note distinctions among them by following the categories first outlined by Haverson and Haynes (1982) as:

Pre-literate: those learners from a culture and language with no print literacy or that their language is just beginning to be written and is not widely available.

Nonliterate: those from a culture and language with print literacy but who have not yet become print-literate.

Semiliterate: those who understand that print carries meaning but are unable to decode or encode print themselves (as happens with those interrupting mainstream education and who have not mastered basic skills). This group might include the other two categories.

The reasons for lacking print literacy vary widely from country to country and from region to region. Some of the reasons are political circumstances such as civil war, genocide and famine; poverty, displacement, forced migration and thus limited and interrupted formal schooling; and cultural expectations (Rackley, (2006); Batalova, Mittelstadt, Mather, & Lee, (2008)). Some adult ELLs may come from a marginalised group in their native country; they may have suffered ethnic oppression or be immigrants so they are deprived of educational opportunities. The perception of the SCS adult students' lack of confidence in their ability to learn is supported by researchers in other countries too (Auerbach,

1996; Cook & Quinones, 1983; Schwarz, 2005). Abdi, (2007) points out that gender influences educational opportunities and literacy development, especially where schooling for girls is not a family or societal priority and girls risk becoming victims of violence if sent to school. This issue also emerged in this research.

Literacy is often portrayed as an individual characteristic (Bialystok, 2001) but cultural influences as well as religious beliefs may hinder adult involvement in education and present resistance to literacy (Sarroub (2008); Levinson (2007)). It is the sine qua non for adult educators to understand that adult students construct their literacy in a political, historical and societal context (Reder & Davila, 2005). Educators need to be competent in taking the whole context into consideration and in drawing from the students' reservoir of knowledge, skills and life experience to support their second-language learning (August and Shanahan, 2006).

According to Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, Humbach, & Javorsky, (2006); Atwill, Blanchard, Gorin, & Burstein, (2007) there is a strong relationship between L1 oral skills and later levels of oral and literacy proficiency in L2 both among children and adult learners. The situation is made more complex when some adult ELLs are assumed to be native speakers of an official language of their nation of origin, but in fact they may speak a minority language instead, where phonological skill transfer is affected by the phonological similarities and differences between the learner's L1 and English (Juffs & Rodriguez, 2008; Wiley, 1993). Special knowledge was required on how non-literate adults could develop strategies to process language-based tasks which are different from those of literate adults (Brucki & Rocha, 2004; Kosmidis, Tsapkini, Folia, Vlachou, & Klosseoglou, 2004; Li et al., 2006; Manly et al., 1999; Ostrosky-Solis, Ardila, Rosselli, Lopez-Arango, & Uriel-Mendoza, 1998; Rosselli, Ardila, & Rosas, 1990).

A number of authors (Keevil Harrold, 1995; TESL Canada, 2003; TESOL, 2002, 2003; TESOL Australia, 2003; Brown, 2002; Prabhu, 1990; Richards, 2002) noted significant activity over the past decade aimed at promoting professionalization in the field of adult English as a Second Language instruction. This was through teacher certification standards that focused on reflective teaching practice supported by substantial training programs with a greater exposure to the field of applied linguistics. These were combined with not only a general understanding of linguistic structure but also psychology, anthropology and education. According to Riddle (1982); Grabe, Stoller, and Tardy (2000) language teachers need a strong grasp of metalinguistic knowledge to enable them to deal with the intricacies of

classrooms. That point suggests moving away from training, which implies a specific way of doing things, towards providing education that makes teachers autonomous in their teaching. Brown (2002:11) advocated that:

> [An enlightened teacher's] approach to learning is the theoretical rationale that underlies everything that happens in the classroom. It is the cumulative body of knowledge and principles that enable teachers, as "technicians" in the classroom, to diagnose the needs of students, to treat students with successful pedagogical techniques, and to assess the outcome of those treatments.

According to Schaetzel, Peyton, & Burt (2007), Vinogradov (2009) and Bigelow & Schwartz (2010) literacy instruction should be tailored to the unique needs of adult students of English who learn to read and write for the first time; and educators should be given professional developmental opportunities to help serve effectively this population by heeding what is known from existing literature; by learning very specific strategies and practices to support adult literacy learning; by learning how oral language differs from literacy in general and within the culture of the specific learners (Comings & Soricone, 2005). Vinogradov, (2009) reiterating Haverson and Haynes (1982) outlined some skills and knowledge that would be useful to adult educators who are not literate. She suggested knowing, and knowing how to teach, the components of reading (phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, fluency and comprehension) and balancing literacy instruction by drawing on a range of pedagogies based on L1 and L2 literacy research.

Teachers must know how to assess student needs, how to teach learning strategies and study skills appropriate for adults at the beginning stages of literacy development and how to assess literacy and language skills in L1 and L2. Additionally, Bigelow & Schwartz, (2010:18) advocate that "Teachers of adult ELLs without print literacy must be multifaceted. They must have the ability to attend to the unique affective and instructional needs of these learners" while Faux (2006) and Mathews-Aydinli, (2008) suggested that students who have negative or no prior formal learning experiences need encouraging, positive teachers to welcome them into this new learning community and to know as much as possible about their students' language, culture and cultural history; to understand the experience of being in school for the first time and scaffold instruction accordingly.

Jarvis (2004:142) advocates that teachers of adults, besides having the relevant knowledge and experience, require certain characteristics in order to help adults learn, including: "knowledge of the educational process, appropriate philosophy

and attitudes and teaching and personal skills. Hence, it is rather surprising that the preparation of educators of adults has occupied such an insignificant place in teacher education".

In summary

In this chapter the issue of policy in education has been explored within an ensemble of diverse concepts and theories that constitute transformation, innovation, enterprise and political rhetoric. The formation of educational policy cannot easily be defined but it can be characterised as a process of bricolage, of copying bits and pieces, of trying and testing approaches but always being influenced and intermingling the global, the national and the local. Globalisation is the underlying formulating directive that specifies the economic, political and cultural dimensions, received and interpreted differently within different political architectures, national ideologies and infrastructures. Policy keeps its own legitimate power but it is open to be interpreted at various levels of implementation as it is multilayered and multifaceted. Teachers are on the crest of wave breaking of education policy, reforms and innovations but they are excluded from policy formation. They are always asked to implement policies without always being explained what to do and how. That causes contradictions and juxtapositions that could be solved with occupational and organisational professionalism as a way of improvement, especially in the field of language learning in adult education where there is a deficiency in professional development.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Chapter four draws upon the literature on educational research to show how this study was designed to achieve the research objectives. I begin by briefly discussing my research position; my theoretical framework briefly as the key policy concepts that guided the analysis have been explained in chapter three; the questions, the sample, the methods I used and the period when I did my research, how and where I got the data, how I collected it, how I coded it and what the themes were. Subsequent sections deal with issues of data collection, research criteria concerned with trustworthiness, such as validity, reliability and triangulation, as well as ethical considerations involved.

4.1 Research Position

The stimulus for the research arose, as previously discussed, out of my personal experience in the context of Second Chance Schools in Greece. Generally, I believe that we can change the world we live in, the conditions we work under, the materials we deal with, the people we work with only if we do – and know - something about it. There are multiple realities and multiple aspects of identity and through research people find themselves able to understand that the same event appears to have different truths according to how we see it. There is no one version of events in social science research. That is the reason I chose to do qualitative research; through interpretation of the different aspects of the same event I could have a much clearer view of what really happened in the implementation of SCSs.

I came into research as a head teacher who was very committed to the ideas of education and improvement through learning and new knowledge and was engaged with the policy process of establishing SCSs. But I was angered by what happened in Greece. Because I am a great believer in the pursuit of knowledge, I have set about this process of trying to research what actually happened in order to get underneath the story, to see how it happened and to understand it in order to help to build the case for SCSs in Greece. I acknowledge that my position has created problems for me as a researcher because of my anger and my commitment and my strong association with the teachers' point of view. When in the researcher's role, I was trying to be dispassionate and neutral, to look at what the information was about from the different perspectives of policy makers and

the scientific advisors and the teachers. It became even more complicated by the fact that all the time that I had been writing this thesis, the Greek economic crisis had been unfolding and my pursuit of this work felt like a luxury when things were crumbling around me. It was hard for me to believe that there could be investment in SCS education.

Nevertheless, what I am trying to do is to stand apart from this in being honest and clear and to do the analysis, and to be optimistic about the fact that this analysis will help the rebuilding of these SCSs. It may be that a lot of the issues that arise in my analysis - about the lack of embeddedness of social policies in Greece - are relevant to the problem of what is happening in Greece as I write this thesis (2012). I hope that my position is understood, about who I am, when I did this research and what my problems are in doing it because there is no neutral position. I see things through a head teacher's and a teacher's eyes: that gives me a privileged insight but it also gives me a particular stance and position in the field. I am trying to do an honest piece of research but I cannot help the history and experience behind me. The problems I encountered both gave me massive commitment to my project but also made it very difficult for me to see some things. I tried to listen carefully to what the interviewees were saying and to avoid pre-judging. I struggled with how to move from the teacher's view into a researcher's view; and over the course of the project, as things have become more difficult in Greece and therefore as the funding for SCSs has become more problematic, it has been difficult to stop myself becoming angry and my objectivity becoming clouded. As I was working on my thesis I saw the worsening of the schools that I had worked for and tried to expand and one of the two branches I put a great deal of work into as a head teacher was closed down.

This is my stance, my theoretical background, my struggle in writing an honest piece of research. I understand that policy is understood and read differently at each of the different levels. People believe their interpretation of the world but there are competing interpretations and I recognize that. But equally I am saying about myself that I have a strong personal interpretation of what I thought happened and that the challenges faced were ones that I faced myself.

4.2 Developing an Analytic Framework

I have discussed my theoretical framework on policy in chapter three in more detail. Here I summarise the theories that were important in my research and the ones that assisted with my analysis: adult learning theory, education policy and

professional development theories. Some of these key ideas, which have been important in developing my understanding of what happened in the SCSs in Greece, are educational policy, the knowledge society, and teacher professionalism. I find these ideas particularly persuasive although I recognize that I could have used others and perhaps come to different conclusions.

Following Ball's (2008) theory on policy in the *Education Debate* I have been affected by his views on education policy as a major political issue, a major focus of media attention and the recipient of a constant stream of initiatives and interventions from government all around the world within the context of globalisation, its pressures and requirements, capitalism and the pressure for economic productivity and competitiveness, information technology and neo-liberalism. It is discernible that there is convergence towards 'global policyspeak' (Ball, 2008:1;Novoa, 2002) of the nation-state education systems which becomes important in understanding national education policies imported from the US, the World Bank, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the European Union. Greece is not exempt from the pressures of globalisation and Europeanization, but it mediates these pressures differently, it balances them against other priorities and faces different social and economic problems.

Apart from Ball's theory, the book *Changing Teacher Professionalism* by Gewirtz et al. (2009) had a great impact on me and inspired me in combination with my Greek background to create a model, developing more the paradox that exists in the teaching sphere. I created the image of the Titan Teachers to talk about the titanic project (τιτάνειο έργο in Greek) they have to undergo and the way I understand policy. What I am trying to do here is to show that the burden of the world that Titan had on his shoulders is more or less the same for the teachers. I have drawn from Greek Mythology to use as metaphor the image of the Titan carrying the globe on his shoulders as punishment as well as the idea of titanomaheia (fighting of the Titans).

4.3 Research Design and Research Questions

My study is a case study (Bell, 1999) of the policy of establishing SCSs, adult schools for people who dropped out of mainstream education, as implemented in selected European countries at the end of the 1990s. My study focuses upon the training and professional development of teachers of English in the SCSs in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Northern Greece.

There is a huge body of literature on case studies within qualitative research. One of the earliest definitions offers a suitable operative interpretation of what a case study is: "a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event or unit. The unit may be a school or even a setting within it in educational research" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982: 58). A case study examines a phenomenon (the "case") in its real world context (Yin, (2010:17); Yin, 2009, Platt, 1996). A case study is a story about something unique, special, or interesting; stories can be about individuals, organizations, processes, programmes, neighbourhoods, institutions, and even events. The case study gives the story behind the result by capturing what happened to bring it about, and can be a good opportunity to highlight a project's success, or to bring attention to a particular challenge or difficulty in a project (Yin, 2003). Bryman (2008:54) pinpoints that "With a case study, the case is an object of interest in its own right, and the researcher aims to provide an in-depth elucidation of it" through the unique features of the case which he characterizes as an idiographic approach.

Bryman (2008:55) elaborated on how well the case study fares in the context of the research design criteria of measurement validity, internal validity, external validity, ecological validity, reliability and replicability. Bryman centres his concerns on external validity or generalizability, noting that case studies cannot be generalizable. Case study researchers argue that they aim to generate an intensive examination of a single case, in relation to which they then engage in a theoretical analysis. The central issue of concern is the quality of the theoretical reasoning in which the case study researcher engages. It is not whether the findings can be generalized to a wider universe but how well the researcher generates theory out of the findings, (Mitchell, 1983; Yin, 2003) something that places the case study in the inductive tradition of the relationship between theory and research. Wellington (2000:100) argues that "people reading case studies can often relate to them, even if they cannot always generalize from them".

Case studies can be rich, interesting and possess a wide appeal because they explore how general principles are exemplified in practice. Another advantage of case studies is that the richness of the material facilitates multiple interpretations by allowing the reader to use his own experiences to evaluate the data. The research serves multiple audiences (Roizen and Jepson, 1985). At this point, an additional argument is stated by Anderson (1990) that readers should be able to 'learn lessons from it'. The ability to relate to a case and learn from it is perhaps more important than being able to generalize from it. The strengths of using case

studies are that they can be illustrative, illuminating, insightful, disseminable, accessible, attention-holding, strong on reality, vivid and therefore of value in teaching. In contrast, the weaknesses of case studies are that they are not generalisable, representative, typical, replicable and repeatable (Wellington (2000:97). Bassey in Briggs and Coleman (2007:143) summarises all the points of a case study in a prescriptive definition of it: "An educational case study is an empirical enquiry which is:

- Conducted within a localized boundary of space and time (i.e. a singularity)
- Exploring interesting aspects of an educational activity, or programme, or institution, or system
- Mainly in its natural context and within an ethic of respect for persons
- Designed to inform the judgments and decisions of practitioners or policy-makers
- Or of theoreticians who are working to these ends, and
- Such that sufficient data are collected for the researcher to be able:
  a) To explore significant features of the case
  b) To create plausible interpretations of what is found
  c) To test for the trustworthiness of these interpretations
  d) To construct a worthwhile argument or story
  e) To relate the argument or story to any relevant research in the literature
  f) To convey convincingly to an audience this argument or story
  g) To provide an audit trail by which other researchers may validate or challenge the findings, or construct alternative arguments".

It is useful at this point, to consider a distinction between different types of case studies. Yin (2003) distinguishes five types:

- The critical case: In this case the researcher has a well developed theory and a case is chosen on the grounds that it will allow a better understanding of the circumstances in which the hypothesis will or will not hold.
- The extreme or unique case: This case is a common focus in clinical studies.
- The representational or typical case: With this kind of case "the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation" (Yin, 2003:41). Bryman (2008:56) calls it an

exemplifying case because notions of representativeness and typicality can sometimes lead to confusion. So a case can be chosen because it exemplifies a broader category of which it is a member or a part and not because it is an extreme or unusual case but as a case that epitomizes a broader category of cases or as a provider of a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered. Another rationale for selecting that specific case is that it allows the researcher to examine key social processes. An example of this could be for a researcher to be seeking access to an organization that has implemented a new technology and s/he wants to know what the impact of that technology has been.

- The revelatory case: Yin (2003:42) explains that the basis for this case exists "when an investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyse a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation".

- The longitudinal case: Yin suggests that a case may be chosen because it affords the opportunity to be investigated at two or more junctures or over time.

Some older classifications of case studies by Stenhouse (1985) and Bogdan and Biklen (1982) include three major categories:

- Historical-organizational case studies which involve studies of a unit, e.g. an organization, over a period, thereby tracing its development, through interviews with people who have been involved with the organization over a lengthy period and a study of written records.

- Observational case studies which involve participant observation of an organization, including a historical aspect as a supplement.

- Life history case studies which involve extensive interviews with 'one person for the purpose of collecting a first person narrative' (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982:61; Woods, 1985:164).

Stenhouse (1985:226) distinguishes between two traditions of case studies: historical and ethnographic and he suggests that "there is a sense in which history is the work of insiders, ethnography of outsiders" pointing out that the study of a new organization will necessarily involve an outsider's perspective, although life history interviews (indeed interviews of any kind with key informants) could assist with providing the insider's view.

Stake (1994) distinguishes between three types of case studies:

- The intrinsic case study which involves research in order to gain a better understanding of this particular case, because of interest in it and not because the case is unique or typical. "The purpose is not theory building...Study is undertaken because of an intrinsic interest in" (Stake, 1994:237).
- The instrumental case study which involves providing insight into a particular issue or clarifying a hypothesis. The actual case is secondary while "the choice of case is made because it is expected to advance our understanding of that other interest" (Stake, 1994:237).
- The collective case study which involves the study of a number of different cases which may have similar or dissimilar characteristics but they are chosen so that theories can be generated about a larger collection of cases.

Some case studies can involve a combination of these elements. Following Stenhouse's and Bogdan and Biklen's classification my case study could be characterized as a historical-organisational case study and representational or typical case or exemplifying one with longitudinal elements since it studies the development of policy over the decade 2000-2010. At the same time it could be characterized as an intrinsic case study according to Stake. It is a case study of a European LLL policy adapted and implemented in Greek SCSs over a period of ten years (2000-2010). It is an in-depth case study of all levels of the development of policy through interviewing the four key players, the general secretaries of adult education in Greece during the decade, scientific advisors, scientific coordinators of the English training sessions, administrative staff in the headquarters of IDEKE, teachers of English who worked or were or are working in SCSs during the decade, headteachers, discussions in classes with students in each one of the schools and document analysis. I believe it is a good case study because it is an example of how a specific policy of adult education was implemented in one of the thirteen European pilot member states; it provides an in-depth study that cannot be generalized but can exemplify how the social policy of fighting social exclusion, dropping out of schools, inclusion and well-being was implemented in Greece. It may have implications for the SCSs in the other European countries since it discusses the policy trajectory during the whole decade.

The following research questions constitute the main framework of the study:

1) What were the aims of the policy to develop Second Chance Schools in Greece?

2) How did the policy and the schools develop in the decade 2000-2010?

3) What is the experience of teachers of English in SCSs in 2010?

4) What professional support is currently provided for teachers of English at the Second Chance Schools?

5) What kind of theories of literacy and pedagogy do the English teachers use in their classrooms?

4.4 Sample Group

My research sample comprised of 47 people and groups of students in seven SCSs in the area of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. More specifically it included:

- Four General Secretaries of Adult Education in Greece covering the decade of 2000-2010 who directed SCS policy.
- Five administrative staff in IDEKE in Athens, most of whom played a pivotal role in the project teams who established and implemented the SCSs and remained in their position during the decade so that they had a full view of the changes of policy and people in the centre.
- Two English Advisors or Coordinators, responsible for the training of teachers of English during 2004-2008 and the creation of the English Curriculum. Both of these were academics at the Kapodistrean University in Athens.
- Two training organizers of the training sessions organized by IDEKE for the teachers of SCSs in all subjects; the first one responsible for the period 2000-2004 and the second 2004-2009. Both of these were academics: the first at the Aristotle University in Thessaloniki and the second at the Harokopio University in Athens.
- The regional Advisor for Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, responsible for all the schools of the region from 2005-2008, belonged to secondary education but he was a colleague with high qualifications.
- Three school advisors of the first schools of Drama, Komotini, Alexandroupoli, in the area, an institution that was active up to 2004.
- Seven headteachers of the seven SCSs in the region as well as the branches in some of these cities.
- Twenty-three teachers of English from which twenty were interviewed and three sent their answers by mail because of difficulties in meeting me on the date I visited their city.

- One to two classes per school at the second level where students expressed their views on learning English, what has been learnt and what matters in their opinion while learning English.

The sample was very carefully selected from all levels of policy making, administration at the highest level, organization of training, subject advising, teaching, administration at the school level and students' views on learning English. Establishing who the 'key informants' were, was vital to the research. Le Compte (1984) describes key informants as "individuals who possess special knowledge, status or communication skills and who are willing to share that knowledge with the researcher". In my research the key informants were the policy makers and the teachers of English in Second Chance Schools. Interviewing key informants at all levels of the same institution is valuable in establishing different perspectives and in creating some kind of 'in-house triangulation' (Schon, 1971).

4.5 Methods

Methodology can be defined as the 'science of method' or as 'treatise on method'. Wellington (2000) defines methodology as "the activity or business of choosing, reflecting upon, evaluating and justifying the methods you use. Indeed, the latter is an essential feature of any written report or research thesis" (Wellington, 2000:22). A research method is simply a technique for collecting data. It can involve a specific instrument, such as self-completion questionnaire or a structured interview schedule, or participant observation whereby the researcher listens to and watches others.

I employed a qualitative methods approach. This is one of the three broad research traditions in social sciences. I used qualitative data through the use of semi-structured interviews because of the richness of data they can yield about the case under research that can be contrasted to what is stated in official documents in the field. The data from the interviews were triangulated with document analysis at the interpretation level. In qualitative research, the focus of the research is seeing through the participants' eyes and experience in the natural setting. The data are analysed without any preconceived hypotheses for common themes or patterns that allow multiple interpretations of the experiences presented (Denzin &Lincoln, 2005). The aim is to describe in detail the focus of the investigation using the participants' perspectives and words; to have close involvement with the people being investigated; to elaborate on research

concepts and theory emerging out of data collection. Another important aspect is to depict the unfolding of events over time that is interconnected with the participants' actions and the social settings; to use an unstructured research approach, seeking for an understanding of behaviour, values, beliefs of the context researched so that it can yield rich data, concerned with small-scale aspects of social reality, with the meaning of action, while investigating people in natural environments (Halfpenny, 1979; Bryman, 1988; Hammersley, 1992). In qualitative studies there is an emphasis on providing considerable descriptive detail about the social world being examined in order to give importance to the contextual understanding of social behaviour (Geertz, 1973). Bryman (2008: 387) supports the same view by saying that "it is often precisely this detail that provides the mapping of context in terms of which behaviour is understood". On the other hand, there is the danger of the researcher becoming too embroiled in descriptive detail. Lofland and Lofland (1995:164-5) warn against the sin of 'descriptive excess' in qualitative research.

4.6 Research Instruments

The research instruments that were used in this research were semi-structured interviews and document analysis. Each of the instruments is further discussed below.

4.6.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Bell (1999: 135) supports the view that "the interview can yield rich material ...and a major advantage of the interview is its adaptability". Ideas can be followed up, responses can be probed, motives and feelings can be investigated, something that the questionnaire can never do. The tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation are some ways of responding that provide information that a written answer in a questionnaire can conceal. A response in an interview can be developed and clarified while in a questionnaire has to be taken at face value. Wiseman and Aron (1972) liken interviewing to a fishing expedition and Cohen (1976:82), by pursuing this analogy, added that "like fishing, interviewing is an activity requiring careful preparation, much patience, and considerable practice if the eventual reward is to be a worthwhile catch". By probing into the interviewers/ thoughts, values, prejudices, views, perceptions, feelings and perspectives the researchers are enabled to elicit the situation with more details. "There are only 'multiple truths' in social situations, no single or absolute truth (Usher and Edwards, (1994); Hargreaves, (1994). Some other authors have

described interviews as a 'conversation with a purpose' (Webb and Webb, 1932), others (Lather, 1986) as a 'trading' going on of a two- way exchange of views and some others as a data collection device. Interviews are a valuable source of the participants' views and perspectives, elicited via the rapport established between the interviewer and the interviewee. It is the participants that should be given the priority in such an exchange: "The research interview's function is to give a person, or group of people, a 'voice'. It should provide them with a 'platform', a chance to make their viewpoints heard and eventually read" (Wellington, 2000:72). So if the interviewees are given the power to express themselves freely and they feel that they have the leading role, the research will be enriched with personalised detail. The interviewer might change styles and roles from "a sponge; a sounding board; a prober; a listener; a counsellor; a recorder ('tabula rasa'); a challenger; a prompter; a sharer" (Wellington, 2000:72) but the interview should remain the interviewees' platform for successful results.

4.6.2 Interview Structure

Interviews are distinguished into three types: structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews are like a 'face-to-face questionnaire' (Parsons, 1984:80). They can be administered when a large number of interviewees are involved and they provide quality and consistent data. Most control is held by the interviewer, guided by the researcher's agenda and it is less flexible and more predictable. The advantage is that it provides an easier framework for analysis, while the disadvantage is that there is little freedom for the interviewee. No deviation is offered from the set questions, meaning that the opportunity for additional details and insights may be missed. Unstructured interviews or 'non-standardized interviews' (Richardson et al, 1965:35) differ from one interviewer and interview to the next simply because they are not based on a list of questions. This type of interview can be useful in research only if it is used for exploring a topic in the first steps of the research but it can be misleading if it gets off the route.

Semi-structured interviews were part of my research (appendix II). These interviews are the best solution for acquiring valuable extra evidence related to the research, based on a list of questions but being flexible and not in a completely pre-determined framework. Rapport needed to be created between the interviewer and the interviewees. Smith (1972:20) suggests that 'rapport' should be the 'result of a positive, pleasant, yet business-like approach'. In my research interviews, the teachers gave answers to research questions about their

perceptions on policy, their feelings towards and experience of the development perceived, about their needs in Second Chance Schools, the possible existing gap between policy and practice and possible solutions to be bridged.

4.6.3 Document Analysis

There are two main types of data: primary sources of data and secondary sources. Primary sources are questionnaires, interviews, observations, focus groups and so on, while secondary sources are documents. Documents might include: letters, annual reports, and minutes of meetings, prospectuses of school, curriculum documents, syllabuses, web pages, internet material, e-mail discussions, e-mail correspondence, policy documents, government papers, inspectors' reports, newsletters, media and modes of presentation (Scott, 1990). The collection and analysis of these documents was done in parallel with interviews. Their study and analysis can be central or complementary. Scott (1990:12-18) suggests a classification of the documents in two different dimensions: access or openness and authorship. According to the degree of access they are categorized as:

1. **Closed**: available only to a limited number of insiders, e.g. personal diaries, learning logs, letters, school accounts
2. **Restricted**: available only by gaining special permission or having access granted
3. **Archived**: access via a special place of storage, or archive, e.g. very old documents; privately owned papers
4. **Published 1: available in libraries**, bookshops or on the Internet but at a price, e.g. intentionally published diaries, newspapers, White Papers
5. **Published 2: available free** on application or via the Internet, e.g. some government documents, curriculum statements, school or college prospectuses
6. **Published 3: freely distributed** to every household, school, college, etc., e.g. health education leaflets, propaganda, pressure group publications.

According to authorship, the documents can range from official documents from a government department (public, state documents), from an official (private) group, from an organisation/ institution such as a school, from a private group or sector and from a private individual (personal) (Scott, 1990:15). Access does not depend on authorship and vice versa. This typology is useful for the researcher

because the positioning of documents on these two axes has implications for analysis, ethics and the writing up of the research.

The researcher gets involved in analysis of the documents by referring to his/her own framework of reference and to that of the author to get meaning relative to the study. The documents I used were the official curriculum of SCSs, and reports of both the plenary training sessions of the SCSs' educators and those of teachers of English as well as evaluations and official annual reports on training. The latter are official, restricted and archived documents and I had permission from the Institute of adult education (IDEKE) in Greece to go to Athens and search for the documents kept in its archives. These documents allowed me to see the way that this organisation portrays itself in print in relation to the training of its teaching staff.

4.7 Triangulation

According to Jick (1979), the term triangulation comes from ship navigation where multiple measures are used to provide the best estimate of the location at a specific time. In Triangulation Design both quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously. The purpose is "to compare and contrast the different findings to produce well-validated conclusions" (Creswell et al., 2003). The weight in this design can be given either to quantitative or qualitative data or to both. Mixing can happen at the stage of analysis but more frequently it occurs at the interpretation stage in order to discuss if the results converge or diverge. In my study, there is no mixed methods design, only qualitative, but there was triangulation of data from interviews and data from document analysis for producing validation of the case.

In Denzin's (1970) typology of triangulation in research there are four types of triangulation:

1. Data triangulation subdivided into:

   A) **Time** triangulation where the researcher attempts to consider the influence of time using cross-sectional and longitudinal research designs;

   B) **Space** triangulation where researchers engage in some form of comparative study of different regions or different countries;

   C) **Person** triangulation at three different levels: the individual level, the interactive level among groups, and the collective level.

2. Investigator triangulation: where more than one person investigates the same situation.

3. *Theory* triangulation where alternative or competing theories are used in any one situation.

4. *Methodological* triangulation, which involves 'within method' triangulation, that is the same method used on different occasions, and 'between method' triangulation, when different methods are used in relation to the same object of study (Denzin, 1970).

In my research there was person triangulation by providing data from all different levels of SCSs from the bottom of the institution, the students, the teachers of English, up to the top hierarchy of general secretaries and the other stakeholders. Data from interviews were triangulated with official written documents of SCSs such as guidelines of Curriculum, specificities of the organization and function of SCSs, programmes of training meetings (appendix I), annual reports on training, and evaluations as well as articles written by those involved in SCSs.

4.8 Ethical Concerns

Research can be an intrusion into its participants' lives or an invasion of their privacy and even a threat if the questions cover sensitive issues. Participants should be given the right attention from the very beginning of planning to use research tools. Approaching the respondents, explaining the aims of the research, data analysis and data reporting are vital stages for ensuring the quality of the research. Factors such as: "Their *informed consent,* their *right to withdraw* at any stage, the potential of the research to improve their situation (the issue of *beneficence*), the guarantees that the research will not harm them (the issue of *non-maleficence*), the guarantees of *confidentiality, anonymity* and *non-traceability* in the research" are extremely important (Cohen et al., 2007:318). Cohen et al. (2000:50) argue that protecting the rights of the participants: maintaining privacy, anonymity and confidentiality, and avoiding harm, betrayal and deception is highly important in research. When researchers are probing into areas that constitute participants' private space, or when the participants are powerful people in an organization, they are ethically bound to maintain the privacy of their participants, their anonymity, including confidentiality in regard to the information they provide so as not to harm them within the micro-political processes of their organization (Baez, 2002; Kelman, 1977; Beynon, 1988).

For my study, the main convenor of Second Chance Schools (IDEKE: Institute for Life-Long Learning) in the General Secretariat in Greece was informed and a

written permission was issued that permitted my research in SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. Participants (policy makers, organizers of training, advisors, trainers, teachers of English, and students) were fully informed about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the study. Ethical issues such as confidentiality, anonymity, power relations, codes of conduct, getting formal ethical approval were respected, as they were developed in the BERA code. I followed the ethical guidelines on research (BERA, 2004) by giving special attention to gaining 'informed consent' or permission, treating participants fairly, with consideration, respect and honesty and maintaining confidentiality and anonymity, something that I took special care of (appendix III). One of the ethical issues I had to consider was how far to identify individuals in unique positions who could easily be recognized, as with the scientific advisors. The General Secretaries cannot really be anonymized and fortunately they consented readily to participate in the research. As a researcher, however, although anxious about the outcome of the interviews I felt I needed to be doubly careful about doing things ethically. I have given people the chance to check on what they said; they have spoken openly and willingly. So I have captured their own words and I have been faithful to their words when carrying out my analysis.

3.9 Issues of Access

Working for six years in adult education and more specifically in SCSs from 2003 to 2009, having the experience both of a teacher of English and the director, I had a clear view of the teaching situation as well as the administrative work. I wanted to explore the trajectory of the SCSs' policy of establishment and development of training of teachers of English because it seemed to me that there was a contradiction between practice and obligations. Through research I felt I could have a clear view of what happened, what had been decided, how it was implemented and get an account of all those details that completed the puzzle of policy implementation. Through the position of the headship I had contacts with the administrative staff of IDEKE, the General Secretaries, while as a teacher I kept contact with all the relevant stakeholders: colleagues of English through the training sessions where we exchanged views; training organizers, regional advisors, first school advisors, English advisors and trainers. So that first contact gave me immediate access to teachers because I was one of them and they knew me and they trusted me. The English Advisors knew me because I had participated in their effort to create the first material and lesson plans for SCSs so they were willing to help me. I had met the two general secretaries of adult

education because they visited my school and through them I acquired the contact for the third one. So I sent them a letter asking for their permission to be interviewed, together with a statement explaining my research aims and methods and a consent form. They all replied positively and they asked me to phone them to arrange a meeting some days before the scheduled month in case of a change. I considered myself quite lucky but at the same time I was very anxious about the logistics. The research had to cover people at the policy level, administrative staff in the project team in IDEKE, and academic staff who worked in Athens, Thessaloniki and Xanthi. If possible I wanted to interview them one after the other so that I would not have to stay for a long period in Athens or Thessaloniki.

3.10   Problems of Access

The participants were willing to be interviewed because they knew me as a head teacher and that helped a lot. However, switching between English formality and Greek informality caused some issues for me. We have a particular way of doing things which helped me to get access.

An unexpected problem I had during my effort to access many of my interviewees was that Windows 2003, used routinely in Greece, was incompatible with Windows 2007 being used at the University. That is this change of information technology systems among more developed countries like Britain, and developed countries like Greece created problems and still create problems because they are more technically oriented. As a result I had to re-send letters, consent forms, and research statements (appendix III) after saving them in Windows 2003 because otherwise they could not be read by everybody, which added frustration and time.

Access to all teachers of English in the region took me longer than I expected. It was difficult to trace them as they moved to different places, especially the temporary staff, and I struggled to find convenient times to interview them all. I came in contact with a total number of 54 teachers, both permanent and temporary, who had worked in all seven schools, by phoning them and sending e-mails but not all of them could participate because of family or work obligations (travelling long distances, being in two or three schools, being pregnant, being in faraway places). Finally I had twenty face-to-face interviews and three were sent by e-mail. I had hoped for more participation.

The second general secretary asked me for the interview questions in advance so that he could prepare, otherwise he would not participate, although he was the

first who agreed to participate in my research. I therefore sent the questions to him. That meant that he had the time to prepare his answers while the rest of the generals gave spontaneous answers.

3.11 Data Collection

The collection of official documents, annual reports, programmes of training meetings, and evaluations of training meetings started at the beginning of 2010. My position as a head teacher was the bridge with the administrative offices of IDEKE in Athens and that helped in obtaining information about the student population and number of recent teaching staff. However, it seemed surprising that although the documents had been created electronically no archives were kept, only the most recent ones. That created problems in doing some kinds of research because only printed copies were kept in the basement of IDEKE, which I organized to visit on the 19/07/2010 after getting permission.

The first data collection from the semi-structured interviews was done in Athens from the 01st -03rd November 2010. I contacted all the participants both by e-mail and phone during October 2010 and made a plan of possible dates for the interviews to take place. The interviews took place a week before the municipal elections and there was a lot of unrest at the time I was in Athens. I interviewed the key participants, that is, the four General Secretaries of Adult Education, four administrative staff, the two English Advisors and the training organizer. They were all very kind and professional in their interviews which took place in their offices. Unluckily one of the administrative staff who was of the first who accepted to be interviewed was ill and she asked me through her secretary to send her the questions so that she could answer them by mail something that she did a few days later. Those three days in Athens were full of creative anxiety. On the 17th of November I interviewed the regional adviser of SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Drama and on the 23rd of November I interviewed the first training organizer in Thessaloniki at Aristotle University.

The research covered seven SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Northern Greece and that meant that I had to visit and interview teachers of English in seven different cities: Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Komotini, Sapes, Alexandroupoli and Orestiada. I was interested in getting as many interviews with teachers of English as possible in the region, not only those from the specific school year 2010-2011 but those who had worked in SCSs during the decade, both permanent and temporary staff.

My first interviews were in my own school where I interviewed the head teacher who substituted for me in Drama's SCS on the 30th of November (2010) and two classes of the second level. It was notable that, at the beginning of December this school and others did not have their full complement of teaching staff. A total number of nine English teachers were asked to be interviewed at a convenient time to them. So from the 1st up to the 14th of December (2010), I interviewed English teachers from Drama, Kavala, Xanthi and Komotini by visiting the schools, interviewing headteachers, educators, and discussing with students. After Christmas, from the 17th to the 19th of January 2011 I visited the SCS of Orestiada, which is the furthest place to visit, on the borders of Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey; Sapes, Komotini, and the SCS of Alexandroupoli. On the way back to Drama I stopped in Xanthi to interview the first school advisor of Drama who lives in Xanthi, while I received answers to my interview questions by the first advisor of Komotini's SCS after many unsuccessful efforts either to meet or to have a Skype meeting with her.

3.12   Coding and Thematising the Data

All the interviews were in Greek and they had to be transcribed and translated which took longer than I had expected. All the interviews were saved in separate files in Greek, separated in nine groups for analysis. Group 1 were the four GSs, Group 2 five administrative staff, Group 3 the two academics responsible for training, Group 4 two English advisors, Group 5 three scientific advisors of the first schools, Group 6 the regional advisor, Group 7 twenty-three English teachers, Group 8 seven headteachers and Group 9 classes of English in the seven SCSs I visited. The first four groups generated national level data, groups 5 and 6 prefectural level, and groups 7 to 9 school level. First I started with the four general secretaries because they were key informants. Each interview was about thirty pages long; I translated everything. At that point I started realizing that it would be impossible to use all the data I had gathered. The transcriptions were done from the 20th of January 2011 up to the end of April. From May 2011 I started coding and thematising the interviews of the four generals. I created a table with two columns and a lot of rows where I kept the themes and notes from each GS and the quotations that I considered important in the next column. Then I coloured the same themes in all four GSs with the same colour and created common themes. The themes were: Changing the concept of adult education, managing the political process, teachers' voice and participation, implementation problems, curriculum/ experiential Learning/ literacies. These in turn were

separated in smaller sections that referred to training, organization, political difficulties and other themes.

The data from Group 1 gave me the policy at the national level by taking out the key points, finding the differences, attitudes, key events and by creating almost a timeline. The result was the data reported in chapter five. Then I continued working in the same analytic way with the 2nd Group and the 3rd Group. The administrators of group 2 gave me another point of view of the story that emerged from the four generals. The codification and thematisation gave me an overview of the case but because of the word limitation I had to leave all groups out and include in the thesis only Group 1 the GSs, Group 4 the English Advisors and Group 7 the English teachers.

Themes emerging from the Group 4 (English Advisors) interviews were related to the background of initial university training, lack of training for teachers of English after university; issues related to teachers of English and innovations in Greece; issues related to the curriculum and material creation in SCSs; data related to the organisation of training in SCSs; problems of implementation, evaluation of training and suggestions. All these issues concerned matters at the national level. These data are reported in chapter six.

Themes from Group 7 (the teachers) were created by combining the relevant interview questions: profile of teachers (Questions 1 &2), Positives about SCSs (3), Challenges (4 & 5 & 7), Support to policy (6), Training (8,9, 10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20), kind of teacher (21,22,23,24,25), own future in SCSs (34), recommendations from interviewees on training (26,27,28,29,30,31,32,33). The twenty-three teachers were categorised according to sex, region, studies, overall experience in education, years of experience in SCSs, and permanent or temporary position. The teachers gave views at the school level in the specific region of Greece. These data are reported in chapter seven.

In Summary

In this chapter I discussed my research position, my theoretical framework, the questions, the sample, the methods I used, the period when I did my research, how and where I got the data, how I collected it, how I coded it and what the themes were. Now I move to the presentation of the data in chapters five to seven.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE FOUR GENERAL SECRETARIES OF LIFE-LONG LEARNING

In the Greek educational system the General Secretary of Life-Long Learning is the administrative and legislative director of the General Secretariat of Adult Education (GSAE) and the Institute of Continuous Adult Education (IDEKE). According to the Ministerial Act 264 (10) / 13-01-1995, the General Secretary of Life-Long Learning acquired the authorisation of full governance of the above mentioned sectors. GSAE and IDEKE are both sectors of the Ministry of Education, Life-Long Learning and Religious Affairs and deal with Life-Long Learning programmes. GSAE was renamed to become the General Secretariat of Life-Long Learning after being the General Secretariat of Adult Education and earlier the General Secretariat of Folk Education, which indicates the shift of policy development in each period.

In this chapter I report the findings from my interviews with the four General Secretaries of Life-Long Learning who spanned the period from 2000-2010 with which this thesis is particularly concerned.

Introduction

The data in this chapter are organised according to the themes as they arose from the analysis of the interviews with the four General Secretaries. These interviews were held in Athens in the General Secretaries' offices between 01-03/11/2010. The themes that arose from the interviews are organised into four categories. The first section presents issues related to concepts of Adult Education. The second section presents issues related to the management of the political process. The third section deals with issues related to teachers' voice and participation. The fourth section is concerned with data related to the curriculum.

These data are of high importance to the thesis because they provide insights into the development of the policy through the lens of the key players of policy making from 2000-2010 within which period 'folk education' was transformed to 'adult education' and, at the end of the decade, into 'life-long learning' following political initiatives within the European Union. As the key political appointees in this role, the General Secretaries carried a great deal of influence and power in the Greek system. The findings reported in this chapter throw light particularly on my first two research questions: about the aims of the policy to develop Second

Chance Schools [SCSs] in Greece and about how the policy and the schools developed in the decade 2000-2010.

The chart below summarises political information about the General Secretaries (henceforth GS) for ease of reference.

Table 5.1 The Political Context of the General Secretaries of Life-Long Learning from 2000-2010

POLITICAL CONTEXT	GENERAL SECRETARY	PERIOD OF GENERAL SECRETARY'S TENURE	EDUCATIONAL AND CAREER PROFILE (SELF-REPORT)
Election date: 09-04-2000 Governing party: PASOK Prime Minister: SIMITIS KONSTADINOS Minister of Education: EFTHIMIOU PETROS	HRISTOS DOUKAS	30.6.2000 - 10.3.2004	Chairman of OLME (Conference of Ministers of Secondary Education), Secretary General for Adult Education, Councillor of the Pedagogical Institute between 2000 and 2010, Vice-President of the Pedagogical Institute and Chairman of Secondary Education.
Election date: 07-03-2004 Governing party: NEW DEMOCRACY PrimeMinister: KARAMANLIS KONSTADINOS Minister of Education: GIANNAKOU	TSAMADIAS KONSTADINOS	22.3.2004- 04.02.2009	Mathematics Teacher in Secondary Education and Assistant Professor of Economics and Assessment of Investment and Policies in Education at Harokopio University; administration positions as the Leading Councillor to the Publishing Organisation of Teaching Books for four years; General Secretary of Life-long Learning for five years and Chairman of the National Committee on Lifelong Learning.

MARRIETA			
Election date: 16-09-2007 Governing party: NEW DEMOCRACY PrimeMinister: KARAMANLIS KONSTADINOS Ministers of Education: STILIANIDIS EVRIPIDES, SPILIOTOPOULOS ARIS	KOUSKOUKIS KONSTADINOS	27.02.2009- 13.01.2010	Military Doctor, General Chief Doctor, Professor at the University of Alexandroupoli, Regular Professor of Dermatology, Vice-Rector, Chairman in the Committee on research projects of the same University; Degree in Law from the University in Thessaloniki; Candidate Deputy of B' Region in Athens; President of OTEK(Organisation of Tourism Education & Training) during the Government of Karamanlis; Chairman of the Organisation of Tourism Education & Training; General Secretary of the Ministry of Education and Life-long Learning at first under the Minister Spiliotopoulos and General Secretary of the Ministry of Education at the same time; In between Professor at the National School of Public Administration. He has written 210 works, 6 textbooks; Honorary Member in journalists ' Union in Greece.
Election date: 04-10-2009 Governing party: PASOK Prime Minister: PAPANDREOU GEORGE	BAKAS EFTHIMIOS	13.01.2010 –	Studies in Econometrics, Mathematician, Economist, Master's Degree in Business Administration in England at the University of Cass Business School of City University in London, worked in the private sector as a manager at the Institute of Education, Trainer, professionally involved in administration of both multinational companies and Greek ones, personal

Minister of Education: DIAMANTOPOULOU ANNA			engagement in political matters in parallel with continuous training on managerial issues both in Greece and abroad giving a priority to Life-Long Learning .

It is worth noting that the political manifesto of Pasok in 1997 proposed reform for the whole educational system to create the all-day primary school; the abolition of the practice of employing teachers by the year and, for the first time, a system which allowed teachers to participate in exams for getting into the public system through meritocratic procedures. In secondary education the Panhellenic exams for getting into university were to be abolished. The Hellenic Open University was to be established and multilevel education was reinforced. In parallel with these actions, there was a political will for all the citizens to participate equally in education through the development of the technical infrastructure of all levels of education, including adult education. The establishment of Second Chance Schools was covered by the law 2525/ 1997 (Article 1) for adults who had dropped out of school, in order to facilitate the fight against social exclusion and illiteracy of adults and to increase potential employability. "The aim of SCSs is the personal and social development of adult students as well as the increase of employment possibility. More specifically the objectives of SCSs are:

a) the completion of obligatory mainstream education of young people of eighteen years old and above.

b) re-linking adult students with education and the training systems.

c) the promotion of students' self-respect so that to acquire knowledge, skills and stances that will help them in their social integration and development.

d) the contribution to their integration in the world of employment."

In 2000, under the first general secretary, SCSs started emerging, first in Athens and later on in other areas of Greece.

The four General Secretaries are referred to as GS1, GS2, GS3, GS4, in abbreviated form.

5.1 Concepts of Adult Education in Greece

In his interview, the first General Secretary maintained that in 2000 "adult education in Greece needed improvement" and he considered that "under the specific conditions this improvement should take into consideration the

developments that were happening in adult education in the whole European and Global space [i.e. throughout Europe and around the world]" (GS1, p.1). GS1 maintained that there was a need for a transformation of 'adult education' to 'life-long learning'; he defined the latter as a change which focused on the development of learning throughout life (GS1, p.1). The first step of this transformation was, for GS1, the change from 'folk education' that dealt largely with handicraft programmes, to adult education, following the European shift towards Life-Long Learning. GS1 considered that "this was a necessary transformation of folk education that was in force at the time to more organised forms of adult education. This transformation should have a focus on the development of learning throughout life and in every span of life through more organised [new] forms of adult education" (GS1, p.1).

GS1 maintained that, in 2000, there was "need of an evolution of folk education into more organized forms of adult education by transforming it into [education that focused on the] abilities, life skills for people to [correspond] to the community" (GS1, p.1). This led GS1 to a re-orientation towards the teaching of life skills. At that point there was an influence from other European countries:

> We have reached the point in many countries in Europe where they accredit and offer qualifications for skills that you acquire from life. Non-formal learning, they say. I am not saying that we have reached this point yet in Greece, although I would like some things in SCSs not to be necessary to do because someone can certify some abilities that you acquired in life. This could happen, but it is a big discussion (GS1, p.18).

At the same time GS1 considered that this transformation of folk education into adult education was "not easy because of [folk education's] deep roots in education" (GS, p.1). He felt that there was resistance to the changes he wanted to initiate and that it was hard for him. On the one hand he believed that there was a need in the Greek community to develop social skills and the level of education through the SCSs; at the same time he believed that there was a need to transform folk education into adult education and try and follow the European trends which were fast and pressing. He emphasized this sense of pace and pressure: "It was all too pressed. In the other European countries there is support in all of this" (GS1, p.18). GS1 said that it was important that the SCSs were connected to local government and seen as part of the local community rather than as initiatives that were managed by national government. "The municipalities want most of them [the changes] but we are not yet... [prepared or ready for the transformation] (unfinished)" (GS1,p.18). In his view, swift action was necessary to catch up with European trends. He supported the idea that

there should be a connection of SCSs with local communities but he felt that he had no time for taking that step (GS1, p. 18-19).

The motivation for developing the SCSs was, according to GS1, based on an urgent need to develop Life-Long Learning in Greece. He felt that the SCS policy had been successful because it responded to a social need and because of the method they used to establish the schools (GS1, p.1). The "basic issue" for GS1 was "how to bring [those excluded from education] back to education. That is the educational meaning [significance]" (GS1, p.11). In GS1's view, SCSs were based on:

> an improvement notion. I would also say that SCSs derived some elements, creative elements that were integrated in the process, from Folk Education that went before, some successes. We won't throw them away, we'll keep them and we'll use them.

He also highlighted that his personal motivation for engagement in the process of change was altruistic rather than party political: "I would also like to pinpoint that the choice of people who participated did not obey any political party or personal logic" (GS1, p.8).

All four generals agreed on the vital role of Life-Long Learning in Greek society but with slight differentiations of focus of attention. While GS1 was opting for Life-Long Learning development by focussing specifically on the establishment of SCSs, GS2 expressed the view that:

> Through watching the subjects of education all these years, I had ascertained that the country had a deficit in this field, the field of lifelong learning, which is a strategic field, in the sense that it can be proven to be a potential pendulum of growth, economic growth, employment and social cohesion. So I had ascertained that the country presented a deficit both at the level of structures and at the level of results, and although the results were better than Eurostat presents, in any case our performance was low. That's why I decided... to try to make headway (GS2, p.1).

While GS1 could lay claim to being the initiator of the field of adult education in its new European form with the establishment of SCSs in Greece, GS2 added that, towards the end of his tenure, he worked towards the unification of adult education with initial vocational training. He declared in his interview:

> With the merging of adult education with vocational training, adult education would have a different content from what we were building over time only for adult education, and it had now been brought about by the new Government, that we were proceeding to the consolidation of the field of lifelong learning. We had integrated adult education towards the end of the 2008, we had unified it, we had put it under a roof with the initial training and the new step is

that continuing training went from the Ministry of Employment to the Ministry of Education, and it is this which we launched then... and this step is very positive (GS2, p.4).

He also added that he achieved the establishment of SCSs "through the cooperation of all the people who worked for SCSs" (GS2, p.1) and "through political steps of developing Life-Long Learning" (GS2, p.4-5). He claimed his success was due to his political decisions in combination with the cooperation of all the teachers in SCSs.

GS3, like GS2, maintained that "Life-Long Learning for me is the greatest tool that exists at this moment" and he added that

> I must admit that it [Life-Long Learning in Greece] was not the best; the level is not the best possible level of Life-Long Learning because it has been misunderstood by Greece in the sense that it is considered to be an education for the people who had never had any training. For me, Life-Long Learning is a way for someone to upgrade continuously his knowledge, his training, and his skills. It can concern the unskilled worker learning five things or it may concern the person who hasn't finished his school, high school, and wants to finish the SCS. So this applies to the entire Greek population, and any stage. This is an opportunity, but it is an opportunity for everyone to improve and upgrade their knowledge. That is the motivation for me. It is a tool that is not being utilized to the extent that it should be used (GS3, p.1-2).

GS3 believed that "we must make this diffusion of information and education all around Greece. The sense of Life-Long Learning is to go to the place of every human being, to train him, not for him to come in Athens or Thessaloniki" (GS3, p.2-3). GS3's view was, therefore, of Life-Long Learning in a broader sense: of education that would cover the needs not only of those who dropped out of education but of other sections of the population as well.

GS4, like some of his predecessors, argued that in Greece Life-long Learning (LLL) did not have the position it deserved. He said that Greek society did not know what LLL was about; he considered that "the programmes that were held and are still held perhaps, to a certain extent, have been relatively obsolete". He suggested that LLL was not connected to the needs of the Greek economy: "The [programmes] were not what the Greek economy needs, what the Greek society needs mainly under these conditions [the economic crisis]" (GS4, p.10-11). GS4 explained that LLL is not yet "complete" in relation to the wider European definition of education that starts from the kindergarten and finishes when the person finishes. He stressed that "the new presidential decree" [i.e. law 3879/2010: The new Life-Long Learning Policy] includes all aspects of learning which had previously been "left outside", including vocational training and

informal learning. GS4 was referring to the new Life-Long Learning policy that had been finalised in June 2010, the key features of which are referred to in appendix IV.

In relation to the General Secretariat, GS4 presented it as "an obsolete organisation, with people who have lost their interest in work and you can depend on just a few people". He added that "the administrative staff neither related to new obligations, nor had the knowledge, nor is the number of staff enough" and he suggested a restructure of GSAE, training of staff and employment of new staff. He summed up: "These are my first views in a nutshell and I have already put you in the picture of what is happening" (GS4, p.10-11).

GS4 concluded his interview by saying that "Life-Long Learning is a priority that is not affected by the financial situation... the general population must be involved in this way of learning, this philosophy of learning. This is a priority" (GS4, p.23). He considered that the time was right for these changes, in that there is a "tendency towards change in the Greek culture, for psychological and economic reasons" (GS4, p.24).

To sum up, the issue of Life-Long Learning was considered of vital importance by all four General Secretaries. In the decade 2000-2010, official definitions shifted from existing ideas of 'Folk Education', which emphasised craft work and the maintenance of traditional skills, to new forms of adult education. SCSs were seen as the most important establishments in this new view of Life-Long Learning because they were to respond to a real need in Greek society. The General Secretaries varied in their individual emphases, but generally they saw the SCSs as part of a movement to expand educational provision to other social groups, to stabilise provision and to unify vocational training and Life-Long Learning in order to respond to the new economic conditions in Greece.

5.2 Managing the Political Process

The first General Secretary saw his role as being the promoter, the organizer and the leader of the whole venture of introducing SCSs. GS1 declared that at the level of policy his contribution was the combination of pulling the whole venture together and bringing about change. He said that he started developing SCSs as a basic component of Life-long Learning in a gradual, qualitative way, starting with a few schools: "at the beginning with ten schools, and gradually to be able to develop them" (GS1, p.2). He maintained that his original plan was the one that developed and he explained with passion that "The whole venture of SCSs had a

vision, a prospect, but focused to a large extent on searching, exploring, examining how to improve" (GS1, p.14). He emphasized the struggle to manage the implementation process through a lot of discussion and exploration.

GS1 said that they decided to develop SCSs at that time, the beginning of 2000, because the levels of illiteracy in Greece were high and there was a demand in society to improve employability and social skills. He said that he felt the need for education because people started feeling pushed out of the way, dispossessed: "jostled, at the backseat, unemployed drop-outs, out of development, showing absence of basic rudiments" (GS1, p .1). He said that he saw all these problems in Greek society, but he did not know what to do. He wanted to start small, to respond both to the European trends and to the needs of Greek society. GS1 was particularly concerned about the topic of dispossession through illiteracy and he repeated with passion the image of being 'jostled' and being 'in the backseat' several times, which seemed to signify the depth of his concern and that somehow it was his sense that people were put at the back of the queue and they were not allowed to have their fair chances. He expressed his worries about the situation of illiterate adults; he said he was very moved by their situation and he tried to find ways of improving it. The political steps that GS1 took in order to implement SCSs were, first to change the institutional framework from folk education to adult education. Secondly, he introduced the concept of Life-Long Learning into public debate; thirdly, he gave SCSs their legal hypostasis [substance] and finally he placed the SCSs within a Life-long Learning framework (GS1, p.2).

After explaining the political process of implementation GS1 claimed that "we chose this sector for the perception of Life-Long Learning to be developed and it had success. It had success because it responded to a social need and secondly the methods we followed, the methodology that we built the SCSs on, was also a methodology that found response" (GS1, p.1-2). What he considered as his great success was exactly this moving from Folk Education to Adult Education, getting a legal framework, establishing SCSs and the fact that he had identified the social need for education and improvement and he had tried to meet that need. He said that covering this need was very important for him; he felt there had been a good response to his initiatives because people participated in SCSs.

GS1 had strong and clearly defined views about how the process of training and development should occur in SCSs. The notion of 'action communities' was a key concept in his vision of the implementation of SCS policy:

> I see it as action communities where the most experienced are at the centre and those who come in want to be in the centre. So the experienced ones act as trainers and the whole story is how to make all this, a team, an action community. The original thought was to make the permanent staff obtain experience, to train the new ones and integrate them in all this ideology (GS1, p.12).

He also talked about the importance of school meetings "The school meetings were a training procedure, supportive, not academic, discussing what they needed; it was something that tied the school together, an action community in its practice. That was very important for training" (GS1, p.10).

When the government changed in 2004, Pasok went out of power after 20 years. GS2 was therefore part of a new political regime and he adopted a slightly different stance to GS1. GS2's focus was on the adult education policy which was well-established in Europe. He pointed out that the idea of SCSs, although new to Greece, was not new in itself, as it came from Europe. This was an idea that was important in his thinking; GS2 described the previous GS1's policy as "little steps". He himself wanted to take great strides and move forward. His thinking was more directly related to the wider European project. Therefore he set about rapidly increasing the number of SCSs: "we made them 57 with 75 branches covering all around Greece and of course covering the prison sector, which I think is one of the major steps that we did... and these schools had exceptional results" (GS2, p.2).

GS2 saw the importance of evaluation, including self-evaluation, internal and external evaluation, and he introduced evaluation into adult education, piloting this for the first time in Greece. He maintained:

> We were the first part in the educational system that cracked the issue of evaluation. At the beginning there was some reservation, you will remember, in meetings....and with the will that we had, we imposed it. The majority saw that evaluation is not some bogey. Self-evaluation and external evaluation were put in a pilot implementation, they went well and I am especially satisfied that this system that we had pilot-tested in education, we had set up and pilot-tested in Life-Long Learning. The new Minister of Education has applied it almost unchanged in the general system of education (GS2, p.6).

GS2 gave considerable emphasis to the fact that issues such as training and evaluation were brought to the table for discussion for the first time under the umbrella of Life-Long Learning in 2004-2009, and that these discussions later had a wider influence on the general system of Greek education. GS2 summed up his personal political philosophy in the following manner:

> Listen, as a character I am of the average way. Too much in everything is not good and nothing at all is also not good; everything in good measure and always with feedback in the process. That is, you evaluate in the process, evaluation at least by experience, beforehand, afterwards, after the end of the programme, but you evaluate in the process of implementation of an activity or of a programme and you make correctional movements in these things (GS2, p.9).

GS3, who came into office in 2009 and was in the same political party as GS2, claimed he had a good view of what existed before but he wanted to develop his own view by visiting schools all around Greece. GS3 thought it was important to travel and visit the schools and get actual experience of meeting the teachers. He suggested that the schools needed more coordination and inspiration. GS3 proposed that another 39 SCSs should be built and established. However he said he had been unable to realise those schools, to bring them into existence, because of difficulties with the political process and with the financial procedures. He did not explain this in detail in the interview, but he gave some indication of the difficulties he had been facing:

> Because the [political] change happened so we didn't really have the time to create …[unfinished]. It was not only the signature. It was the new school term and then even if it had been signed there would again be an overturning of the signature because, according to a technical-financial study that I did, I saw that the institution of a SCS was only 20,000Euros charge on the budget and that was because I had found a process with the mayors, the local lords and made an agreement (GS3, p.2).

Like GS2, GS3 was particularly tuned in to the European dimension. He particularly emphasized the progress of European projects and programmes such as Erasmus and Grundtvig saying that "I encouraged all teachers to participate in Erasmus, Grundtvig programmes, because teachers in some schools worked more, and that is to their honour, they were distinguished abroad by participating either in Grundtvig or Erasmus or Leonardo Da Vinci programmes" (GS3, p.3). In fact, as he later pointed out, only two schools participated in these European programmes. He stated that "I visited all around Greece; my view is a global and a total one about all schools" (GS3 p.10).

In the interview, GS3 gave a detailed account of political decisions that he took and areas in which he developed SCSs. Firstly, GS3 created SCSs in the women's departments in prison because he considered it unfair not to have a SCS there. For similar reasons linked to social justice, he supported establishing SCSs in faraway rural areas such as Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. However, "For me

personally, the most serious of all, from the SCSs are the prisons.... In Thessaloniki I made a school inside it for women" (GS3 p.10).

GS3 considered that the services and building infrastructure of the SCSs needed upgrading: "there was a fight... I made real agreements. I said everything is essential: electricity, water, telephone and heating. Give them in order for me to come and make a SCS. That is how I made them possible" (GS3, p.11). He set up meetings of headteachers and staff, took up the issue of promotion in SCSs, and took an interest in how things should function. He was concerned about the issue of access to information and differences of information available to teachers in areas such as northern and southern Greece because in Northern Greece SCSs participated in European projects while in Southern Greece they were more isolated. He stated that "I gave the order then to have meetings every six months. The headteachers of SCSs to be gathered all together and to have some communication.... you will take specific orders on how to function....the promotion will be done in a unified way" (GS3, p.12).

GS3 took the view that changes in the government, changes in personnel and different generals caused a degree of political uncertainty and changes of direction in policy terms. GS3 said:

> You can't see what the meaning is. And now you understand [what] A, B, C says, what we will do and so on. Tomorrow morning, as we experienced it, there was [G], she had another culture, then [S], he had another culture. Me,... I passed from 4 ministers... 4 ministers and I remained the chairman of OTEK [Organisation of Touristic Education and Training], the only one who stayed there all these years. All the others were leaving and I remained there. Now I don't know for which reason I remained there, but I did and that was positive because I had the time to make visits to a lot of schools abroad [to see their function]as a chairman of OTEK then (GS3, p.7-8).

When Pasok returned to power in October 2009, GS4 came into office with the change of government. Pasok had a new governmental policy that gave a great emphasis to LLL and the Ministry of Education became the Ministry of Education and Life-Long Learning. According to GS4, for the first time in the whole decade, LLL programmes were heavily promoted and a lot of funding came from Europe for that purpose. GS4 stated that, when he came into office on 13-01-2010, he felt that he did not inherit any policy but a network, a medley or mess (panspermia) [πανσπερμία] that needed tidying up. His method of tidying this up was by placing a particular emphasis on financial literacy, entrepreneurship, attention to the economy and the financial and economic dimensions of the

curriculum. There was clear evidence of the impact of the Greek economic crisis in the policy of GS4.

GS4 placed a strong focus on the development of curriculum whereas the other three General Secretaries had the emphasis on getting the systems right, for example to encourage communication between schools and to establish a system of promotion. GS4 showed his interest in curriculum particularly in financial literacy and entrepreneurship and steered SCSs in this direction. GS4 maintained that "now we are in the process of revision and development of a new curriculum based on a different direction set by the Prime Minister himself" (GS4p.12-13). GS4 talked about a new curriculum that was going to provide new forms of learning to Greek citizens "such as financial literacy, entrepreneurship, online training courses on computers for Greek citizens, foreign languages, social skills, and other ones which are necessary in today's market that will help the country develop" (GS4p.12-13). GS4 emphasised wide governmental support for LLL.

It seems that each general secretary added a different notion of development or expansion that was affected by the political stance, the conditions of the country, the personal theory that he had and the experience that he had acquired. There are different notions of speed of implementation and size that fitted with each GS's personal or political theory and duration of tenure. GS1 had a tenure of almost four years and he declared that he wanted a transformation of folk education to catch up with the European trends but he admitted that at the same time this transformation of folk education into adult education was "not easy because of deep roots in education" (GS, p.1) emphasizing that "It was all too pressed" (GS1,p.18) and the rhythm he had was a slow one because he wanted "to develop it in a gradual way" (GS1, p.2). GS1 said that he was motivated by a strong moral concern; he wanted to take gradual steps, but was pressed in practice; his vision was to catch up with Europe.

GS2 on the contrary held the view that in the period of GS1 "Of course there had been little steps" but he was keen to progress rapidly and he expanded the system geographically and numerically in Greece. His tenure was almost five years and he acknowledged that he met some resistance from the administration staff and that caused delays "Because from the beginning I was listening to: 'what are you talking about? This cannot be done!' The people from the central service had a different tendency: 'it is good but it cannot be done in Greece'" (GS2, p.9). GS2's emphasis on the need for speed was explicit:

this is valid for all the Greeks, for everybody, in the overwhelming majority, everybody has this tendency [to drag their feet about implementing innovation] and I can attribute it to this: when some have learnt to run at ten km and you make them run at thirty they get out of breath....but I consider we had achieved a good rhythm, as a total, some better, some less well, but the average went well (GS2, p.8).

GS3 placed great emphasis on visiting SCS and working from first hand experience: "I visited all SCS schools and that specifically pleases me because I had a personal opinion and not word-of-mouth or through the service agents. I wanted to have my personal opinion" (GS3, p.2). He visited schools both in Greece and abroad "I went to Poland where the SCS was awarded a prize and I went to Norway and there I made agreements" (GS3, p3). At different points, GS3 referred to the pleasure he had taken in making surprise visits: "I passed round the boxes of books and a young lady recognised me by chance and said, 'It is the general!' Everybody got up; they couldn't believe that I would do an inspection. I asked, 'What is happening here?'" (GS3,p.13). At another point he said:

I went to an area to inspect the SCS exams, the language, the foreign language that immigrants were learning. Well I went there. ...Why? Why was it I went suddenly? But this is the beauty, when they didn't expect me. There I appeared myself. ..... And when I went to make an inspection, before I went to inspect, I took the list and read who I would meet, who are the people there. I was informed, I went, who would be present, who wouldn't be present, everything, wherever I went all of a sudden (GS3, p.21).

He articulated his views on managing the implementation process in the following way: "Whatever orders you give, I am interested in gaining the major and managing the minor as much I can. But I want to gain the major" (GS3, p.15). Travelling around needed time, and GS3's tenure was short, (just eleven months), so not much time was left for action, particularly in the light of the implementation problems that he had to confront.

GS4 had a clear steer in the general political manifesto to expand LLL. However, after 10 months of tenure he remained uninformed on issues of training of SCS teachers although he declared the issue of training was "within our priorities". Our interview took place on 3rd November 2010, ten months after he had started in office and GS4 occasionally had to turn to his assistant, who participated in the interview under his orders, to ask for information on the issue of SCS teachers' training.

When the issue of political changes was referred to, GS1 expressed his opinion about what happened in Greece. In response to the suggestion that training tends to be a casualty of changes in political leadership, GS1 agreed and responded "At this point [of political change] it becomes worse. Everything else is abolished. It's like betting I think. Instead of having an abolition logic [it is better] to have an improvement logic. SCSs are based on this view" (GS1, p.8). GS1 emphasized the fact that the purpose of SCSs was to offer improvement to society and that it was therefore important that they should be maintained and not subject to abolition by political changes. GS2 refers to the political tendency of one government not to continue the previous government's work but to abolish it completely or change it. In response to the suggestion that in order to produce improvement in education the political leadership should be steady for some time, GS2 spoke passionately saying that:

> Look, this could be so, up to the level of general secretary for some time. But here [in Greece] not only the generals change but all the staff, since the decade of 1980s. The rural guards [unqualified people] became directors with the political party identity (GS2 p.15).

GS2 was concerned about the unofficial but well established custom in public services in Greece whereby the new political government changes all the executives and general directors in educational administration, giving priority to those with the party identity who are the followers of the political party in office. In the interview, GS2 identified problems with the implementation of policy, and concerns about political arrogance and the continuity and political leadership, all of which, he maintained, had an impact on the SCS policy.

GS3 agreed on this point and maintained that "Well at this moment, here it is, four, five years of government, four ministers at the Ministry of culture and they changed all together, general secretaries, chairmen, etc. This is something that does not represent me personally and each prime minister implements politics" (GS3, p.7-8).

In a summary, GS1, GS2 and GS3 agreed that innovations in education in Greece tend to be delayed or not even applied because of political changes in government, party political differences and the tendency of new governments to cancel, rather than build on previous decisions simply because they were initiated by the previous political group. They pointed out the difficulties in establishing educational priorities. The impact of political instability upon the important initiative of SCSs was therefore a notable theme of the three former General

Secretaries. GS4 did not make any relative comments probably because he was in office at the time of the interview.

5.2.1 European Funding of Second Chance Schools

All four General Secretaries commented on the fact that the source of funding for SCSs was the European Union. GS1 stated that Second Chance Schools were initially completely funded by European funds but later on a small percentage of the funds came from the Greek state. GS1 said that this financial support was very important for building the SCS innovation in education and that the government wanted to develop it more. He said that he asked for government SCSs to be included in the national budget. So in 2003 he reported that ten schools were funded by the EU and ten by the National budget of national investment. Since then SCSs have been funded jointly by two streams, the Greek government and Europe, "and training was a basic component of this" (GS1, p.13). He commented "I think that you cannot do some things only with the European funds, [if you want] to do them in the long-term. The European funds help you in building certain things, to set up some experiences, innovations, to be able to continue by yourself" (GS1, p.18). So he saw the importance of European funding as a means to start a course of action and then to be based on the country's own budget for its continuation and sustainability.

For GS2 co-funding from the Greek government and the European Union was very important. He said that the split was 70% Europe, 30% Greece (GS2, p.7). GS2 reinforced the importance of European funding by saying that it covered all those things that were necessary for implementing SCSs such as the infrastructure, the technological-material infrastructure, the salaries, the educational training programmes they had prepared and the educational material that had been produced.

GS3 did not talk explicitly about funding in his interview. However, he did stress the importance of making good use of European money in order to ensure that SCSs were good centres of education and production. He made the point that making good use of European money could have an effect on the duration of the function of SCSs as centres of basic adult education giving an emphasis on European financial support to keep "the fire of education" on in the new centres of adult education learning. One of the words that he used was the Greek word *hestias* (εστίες) that is literally translated as hearths (GS3, p.3). It was notable that he used the Greek word *hestias* rather than the more normal, less poetic

word for centre thus drawing on connotations of a hearth meaning the centre. That was a very significant word that connected back to ancient history and the notion of hearth.

When there was reference to the financial situation in Greece and funding of schools, GS4's response was: "We are very careful with the expenditure that we make. Luckily there is co-funding from the European funds, so it is pan-European. So up to now it is not affected. That means that we don't shed money like that" (GS4, p.22-23). GS4 maintained that since LLL was within the priorities of the government, funding was not going to be affected since programmes had been devised for the future.

To sum up, none of the four generals said much about funding, presumably either because it was a sensitive issue or because they did not reveal details about financial issues to researchers. There are no archival records available for checking details on the funding of SCSs.

5.2.2 The Future of Second Chance Schools

The four generals were asked for their views on the future of SCSs. Both GS1 and GS2 commented favourably on the political survival of SCSs in Greece throughout the decade. GS1 said that he felt that the initiative of the SCSs was very important and he noted that it was one of the few institutions that had survived three governments. "That means that it has a more general acceptance, it had more general success, it was due to the people, let's say, and on the other side it was an educational initiative" (GS1, p3). At another point he added that "the case of SCSs did not change through a succession of governments because of the social acceptance they had, their correspondence to a broader idea in Europe, the fact that they were an educational initiative for educators and finally the fact that they were successfully implemented" (GS1 p.8). He said that in the beginning they were energized by the enthusiasm of the staff and the students: "The early SCSs were very dynamic and full of future possibilities" (GS1, p.3 & 11). When GS1 was asked about how he saw the future of SCSs he highlighted two things that he would do if he was a GS again: first he would connect SCSs with local communities, and second he would create SCS Lyceums (upper secondary education). "One thing I couldn't do, as time was short, was to connect SCSs more with the local communities. I know the difficulties that exist in Greece but I think that we should insist on making SCSs more open, more connected to local communities with the municipalities." In response to the suggestion that a great

number of students wanted to continue to Lyceum, GS1 said: "You cannot leave this thing. We have to find ways similar to those [of the creation of SCS high schools]. Of course this must be combined with exams [referring to the fact that SCSs have no formal examinations]. All these must be done" (GS1, p.18). These points seemed to connect closely to GS1's concerns with re-linking adult 'jostled' students back to society.

This is a point that coincides with GS3's opinion. He had also wanted to create an SCS Lyceum, but had been dissuaded from the idea because of the absence of evaluation evidence in relation to the ease of transfer from one level of education to the next (primary education-SCS-SCS Lyceum-Open University). GS3 focussed particularly on the immigrants and prisoners who were amongst SCSs' students and who would have a route through to university education:

> I was for the view of being able to create SCS at the third level. And at second level, that is not only high school, also Lyceum. I had it in my mind.... I told it to the minister and the minister accepted it very well and told me to think about it because it is a nice idea but... I was blocked ...Of course the good thing is that you would educate people because people say that when a school opens, a prison closes (GS3, p.18).

While discussing the economic situation in Greece and its effect on SCSs, GS3 said that: "even if there will be restrictions due to the finances, they will not close the schools. No, there is really no way it can be done and because she [the minister of education] put it on the title (of the Ministry of Education and LLL) ... I want to believe that not only she will save it [LLL] but she will promote it too. She cannot withdraw it now. She has to support it, [LLL] anyway" (GS3, p.24).

When GS2 was asked about the future of SCSs he answered that he considered it essential that the Second Chance Schools should continue to exist. He added that, with the administrative reform that had happened in Greece and that gave more responsibilities to the local government, the SCSs were given the capability to pass their management to local government. He laid great emphasis on the importance of human capital but was concerned about the vagaries of the political system. In his own words:

> I want to hope that people will choose the right mayors, the right prefects who will be conscious of the role of human capital. If this does not happen and they drop it to the pavement, to rip and remake the pavement instead of maintaining a school, then Greece will not get out of the rut. People should be aware of what they vote for. People should be aware of what they vote for (sic). What can we do? (GS2, p.13-14).

GS4 was more confident that SCSs would not be affected, because they responded to a social need for education. He said: "What will happen in the future? The programming is for funding that signals the future [there is provision for funding the schools]. ...In any event I am telling you we will not touch them because of the social need (GS4, p.22-23).

To sum up, all four general secretaries were positive about the existence and function of SCSs in the future because of their social function in human capital development.

5.2.3 The Role of Administration Staff

According to GS1 the role of the administration staff of IDEKE and the General Secretariat in building the SCSs was based on devotion, knowledge, willingness and zeal for work which was an important element of training and its results, plus their extensive experience in approaching the process and the methodology (GS1, p.8). "They had a rich repertoire that was utilized both in choice issues and in communication with the interested ones. They helped and supported this venture" (GS1, p.8).

GS3 expressed the same view about the teachers that worked in the General Secretariat of Life Long Learning.

> I have no complaint. They were really exceptional, the educators who came there with secondment and devoted so much love. It made a big impression on me and I cannot understand what the motives were. I was so impressed. It was an offer of work. ..... They are all commendable ladies and I had in mind before the change happened to praise them publicly .....; the anxiety was not little. And the pressure, here we had pressure every day from IDEKE, from me personally in a sense, that I know (GS3p.11).

GS2 presented some opposition to this view by saying that the administration staff opposed to his innovative policy making:

> So the obstacles are there to be passed over not to nail you down, because then we would not do a thing. Because from the beginning I was listening to: 'what are you talking about? This cannot be done! This cannot be done. This cannot be done.' The people from the central service had a different tendency. I was telling them to do this: 'Ah this cannot be done. Ah we will do this thing here. It is good but it cannot be done in Greece' (GS2, p.9).

GS4 agreed with GS3 that SCSs achieved a good level and that the administrative staff in GSAE in the department of SCSs loved their work, a point that GS1, GS3 and GS4 pinpointed. GS4 gave hints about his view of the quality of the

administrative staff, stating that: "SCSs were one of the programs, of the actions that were at a good level. That is, they have staff, if you want, that is specialised in adult training, seem to love their work, though of course there are the examples of people well accommodated in public service for many years in such a system and therefore less productive than they might have been" (GS4, p.12-13).

Summing up, while the administrative staff were helpful in GS1's policy of developing SCSs they opposed GS2's ideas, probably because he belonged to a different political party and had a different strategy regarding implementation. GS3 depended on good administrative staff because he was travelling around so work depended on the staff in the main office. GS4 noticed that the staff in SCSs had the knowledge and did quite well but there were a few who were "well accommodated" in the system.

5.2.4 The Development of Training

The training of teachers was on the political agenda from the establishment of SCSs. GS1 stated that: "We all had the view, that was based on former experience, that changes in education have no luck if they are not based on the educators themselves, if they are not based that is, on the development of their capabilities, their support etc. so that to be able to become protagonists themselves. In respect to this view, training was the vital component" (GS1, p.3). Later he noted: "training I would say was a vital element, it was not something external, it was an element, a catalyst in the whole venture and a process of learning for teachers" (GS1, p.4). He explained why he thought training was so important:

> An inversion of training happened in SCSs. We consider that the educators create learning and their teaching in schools. So they have a student approach, they have practices, they have practical wisdom, and training in this case is not to cover some needs, it is to give them the capability. You could also say to choose some points which come out of their experience and that they would like to know, to reflect upon and to see things from a new perspective. That will give them a new training learning procedure (GS1, p.5).

However, the process of implementing this training had not been straightforward: "If you see it as a basic means, a basic tool to achieve better learning you can't do without it. We had understood that but there was always speculation....speculation of what to do, what are the issues to develop, is there

something else, isn't there anything else, all these things are torturing" (GS1, p.15).

GS1's comments, particularly his use of the word 'torturing', indicate some of the difficulties he encountered in the planning and implementation of teacher training. The training was provided by IDEKE (Institute of Continuous Adult Education) which was

> placed in adult education the period that I was general secretary, it was not before. And we wanted it to play this training role as an institute on the one hand and to design and to be connected with research and implementation, to evaluate with an infrastructure of research on adult education. And mostly, at the beginning, during the first stages, it was very difficult to do it in this way (GS1, p.7).

GS1's emphasis therefore, was on the difficulties of establishing research-informed training through a new organization. GS2 agreed with GS1 on the importance of training and expanded the training from what it was during the first years of GS1 by including the teachers and systematizing the processes:

> Look, it is known that in the educational system the basic constituent is the educator so we had to take care of this basic component. It was taken for granted that teachers came from formal education, from the typical, the classical system of education, and secondly from the free market and that they had no training in adult education because these schools address adults, as you very well know because you directed one of the best ones. Thus we had to create procedures for continuous training of teachers to adapt in adult education. The training in the early years had another format because the system was constantly expanded. Towards the end, at the end of our tenure, we had created a separate structure centred in Athens and many regional centres by utilizing the system of long-distance education to make a system of continuous training and self-training of teachers who had been involved in the SCSs and in the other structures of Life-Long Learning (GS2, p.2).

GS2 said that he did this in cooperation with teachers and academics for the benefit of education and improvement of SCS schooling since the teachers had no background in adult education. When it was suggested that he championed training, GS2 said "I have no such ideas. I consider that I undertook a job...a lot of notable people came and worked with me and we all together did some work. It is not a matter of championship but the continuous exchange of views that helped us in taking, as it was ascertained, the right decisions and to act mainly to bring results" (GS2,p.3).

He referred to the importance of initial training before teachers began working in SCSs and he referred to the attempt to institute a unified national register of

adult educators. In the event, this was not implemented because of the political reformation. He stated that:

> we had prepared the platform for the unified register, the national register of educators that is those who were involved as teachers in the field of Life-Long Learning to have necessarily taken and to continue to take training which would lead them to upper levels which would ensure improvement of their gains from their teaching work (GS2, p.6).

After GS2, from March 2008-June 2010, no training took place at all. In response to questions about why there was no training after 2008 GS3 seemed confused and answered that it was a programme that hadn't yet started. However, GS3 had a general belief in the importance of training: "Whatever you are, but whatever you are, you must be trained. So training is continuous, perennial, the same as LLL. Somebody who has been left years ago is useless, worthless" (GS3, p.17). As an example he spoke of the importance of training in updating the skills of a professional surgeon.

GS1 and GS3 differed in their view of the role of IDEKE as a provider of training. GS3 believed that it should be an independent, self-funding body rather than an agency that developed a training policy directly in support of ministry aims:

> IDEKE has no relation with Life-Long Learning. IDEKE is a non-profitable, a legal corporation of private law, which was institutionalised to perform, to elaborate programmes and to implement them, which belongs to the General Secretary in the sense of monitoring. My main aim was to make it independent from the general secretariat of Life-Long Learning and from the economics of the Ministry so that it can function by itself from European programmes (GS3, p.4-5).

Following the return of Pasok to political office, GS4 took up his post in 2009 and implemented a new pilot programme of training that started in June 2010. Most of the information on this training programme was held by GS4's secretary who explained:

> There is a training programme of educators by IDEKE of the General Secretariat of LLL that is 100 hours and concerns issues of adult education, methodology, techniques, evaluation and accreditation of programmes, evaluation of students and educators. This was expanded from 2009-2010 and now apart from the main body of 100 hours we are having other training programmes which are specialised for the educators of SCSs: 25 hours of initial training, and one for educators who work with vulnerable social groups. For example an educator can attend a programme of a 100 hours on SCSs, 25 hours concerning education at SCS and one on vulnerable groups if he works in prisons (Sec, p.1).

She also added that distance learning counselling programmes of 25 hours had been introduced for staff in the peripheral regions of Greece or through the local centres of adult education. GS4 took the opportunity of the interview to establish details of the training from his assistant.

> GS4: How many attended it?
>
> Sec: About 500 people attended it and now it is starting, we are starting the schools, it will be done again.
>
> GS4: Of course.
>
> Sec: I told you it covers the general...it is general for all and about methodology. And the ones paid per hour will be trained. All the new ones will pass the whole programme this year.
>
> GS4: There is no training on the content of subject but on adult education. What Mrs D has just referred to you will be the norm from now on (GS4, p.14).

To sum up, the focus of training shifted from each political period to the next being affected by the views of political leadership and the decisions of the academic groups of experts. Although GS1 attempted to deal with the teachers in SCSs by involving them in the process of developing the schools, the curriculum and the creation of materials, the training was organized at the central level by bringing all the teachers into Athens while the problems that the teachers had to face were at a regional or school level. The training was organized around:

> issues that had come up from themselves: planning, designing (the curriculum), organization of issues such as life skills and how they could help with conditions of life, pedagogical approaches, what's happening in schools, what problems we have and students drop out, why they don't come, what else we can do, training to develop schools...(GS1, p.12).

There were different levels of organized training; it was mostly done in the centre but there were some efforts to provide training at a regional level. These efforts did not, according to GS1, meet with much success. However, he was convinced of their importance:

> I think it [training] should be multi-dimensional, one form should be at the school, but you should have central meetings for everybody to come to listen to what the rest say; so, a combination and the central ones to be well prepared because they are a contact, communication. Because it is not only in the seminar but it is in the corridors, what you discuss, the contacts that are done, you exchange a lot that you need (GS1, p.15).

GS1 supported the idea, that the training should be "more differentiated. It must be more of a workshop" (GS1, p.13).

The other general secretaries did not comment on the form the training should take. GS2's decided that a unified register and a training centre that would work by distance education from Athens, would work better. In GS4's tenure the training started in a long-distance mode from the centre of each prefecture. Concluding from those two GSs, the tendency was to maintain central control in an attempt to offer a unified set of general principles of adult education.

5.2.5 Working with Academics

During GS1's tenure training was established by a central team. GS1 explained that this consisted of academics and administrative staff from the General Secretariat with experience of folk education, procedures and tools. Over time there was an expansion of the team to include educators as trainers who presented their experience in adult education. The organizer of training, Mrs H, was experienced in adult education and brought a particular theory of literacies; Mr V dealt with internal evaluation; Mr H and some others "also helped from their perspective in this and finally this team acquired good cohesion" (GS1, p.6). According to GS1 this central academic team showed positive characteristics which were: "devotion, knowledge, willingness to work, zeal for work" (GS, p.8).

This central team worked in Athens. In order to have contact with the schools which were created in different phases from 2000 to 2004, IDEKE appointed 'scientific advisors' to each of the SCSs; people from tertiary education "academics, school advisors, experts in unions" (GS1, p.7) who would help to establish the schools in the new field of adult education, and help the teachers to understand the new philosophy of SCSs. GS1 maintained that

> these schools needed to have some support and they needed the support of an advisor not with the form of indicating what to do but as an encourager. During this period it started with one person responsible for each school separately. And I think this worked [because] he was in the school, participated in the school meetings, he encouraged [teachers] in discussions (GS1, p.8).

GS1 specified the role of the scientific advisors by giving details: "They gave advice but did training when they thought that the teachers needed reinforcement. It was part of the form of the in-school training that tied in with the school life, participated in the school meetings" (GS1, p.9).

GS2 said that there were some other important academics working with committees in the central team of training during his tenure:

> The debate was happening with all those involved and of course there were some more specialised than the many, than the average of the many. There was utilisation of ideas, opinions, and all suggestions and of course of the experts. There was a synthesis and we went in with the political process (δια ταύτα) which we took ahead (GS2, p.3-4).

According to GS2 they did so because:

> I believe that experience should go hand in hand with contemporary knowledge. And the fact that we had developed cooperation with open procedures with experts from those who get about in the country in the sector of didactics, of pedagogies, of adult education etc. [was important]. Their view was considered by me, kept in mind (GS2, p.6).

In response to the question about whether membership of the Central Committee included academics and teachers only from Athens, he said:

> Look, the committees as you know had few members. In this small team there were people from the first line. As I told you, let's call them fighting educators. Mr M had an active involvement in these things and he was my partner, a mathematician with postgraduate studies in administration research, a positive mathematician, who had a view, discussed with me, and we ended up, I listened to him. We decided and then he took care of the implementation of some things. There were some more. It was not only Mr M alone; I had him as the leading person of a team that had dealt with the section of training (GS2, p.10).

The role of the regional adviser was introduced in this period to substitute for the scientific advisor of each school separately. The regional advisor was responsible for three to five SCSs in a prefecture.

> By building the system gradually we established the [regional adviser] … the role of the regional adviser who proved that it was extremely successful both as an institution and in terms of results. Towards the end, when the development [of the SCSs] was completed in most of the system, we proceeded to an institutional arrangement based on the experiences gained during the five years... the role of the regional adviser has been very positive for the operation and the results of the system (GS2, p.4).

GS2 explained that the role of the regional advisers included participation in the training process, help in establishment problems, advice to the teachers in SCSs in relation to didactics, methodology, behaviour towards adult students: "they had an engagement in the whole process" (GS2, p.4).

Under GS3's tenure there was no training. When GS3 was asked about the absence of scientific and regional advisors and who was responsible for training, he was relatively hazy and he had difficulty in remembering names:

> GS3: I had a whole team... The chairman of the teachers was M and some staff below him... I remember a lot of people ... I know he has left. While I was there he left. He quitted. ... in September, October, the change happened... No, I remember from that time Mr M did not apply for a new secondment. And this was a pity.

During GS4's tenure the new generalised form of blended training was introduced. There were no scientific or regional advisors and GS4 saw no reason for the previous advisory system to be reactivated: "the network isn't that huge so that for every 3 or 4 SCSs to have a scientific advisor. The aim is for the administrative cost to be shared, to drop and more educational work to be produced" (GS4, p.16-17).

GS4's secretary who had also been in post since GS1's tenure expressed her personal views on the training that was offered during the decade:

> ...with [GS1] when it all [training] started...it was done very well. It was exceptional. They gathered every month or every 3 months, and they did training on the issue of their subject, with activities, problems, that is, that was real training. And those people were taking an amount of money per year to make those training sessions. I think this is irreplaceable (Sec, p.9).

To sum up, different political leaders in Life-Long Learning were supported by teams of academics who aided the establishment of SCSs and the issue of training by looking at it through different angles giving priority to political decisions and political changes and not to the continuation of training as such. This approach was started by GS1, strengthened and stabilised by the second GS but abruptly interrupted by the third GS. The fourth GS transformed the training into a more generalised, centrally managed form that was arguably more distant from the subjects of teachers' work.

5.3 Teachers' Voice, Participation

Originally, in 2000, priority was given to schools, teachers and the needs of the students in the establishment of SCSs. According to GS1: "The schools were called upon to play a role, to trace the needs of the students, to develop projects, lesson plans and material, to cultivate a positive spirit to learning" (GS1, p.4). Apart from training, school meetings happened once a week, so there was regular communication among teachers. GS1 explained that: "The school meetings were a training procedure, supportive, not academic, discussing what they needed; it was more like a bonding form of the school, an action community in practice. That was very important" (GS1, p.10). GS1 believed that "the dimension of professional development of teachers is the basic pattern of SCSs .....As I say the

best syllabus is the teacher himself and so...it was taken for granted that professional development of teachers is the key" (GS1, p.5).

In GS1's view:

> the educators want a training that is different, close to their practices, close to their needs, with a cooperative dimension, participatory, creative dimension, through team work, to tie with the school practice and not just a theoretical approach. I think that training in SCSs was a classic example of this approach" (GS1, p.5). He insisted that "I would say SCSs were mostly training rather than a programme, that is they were based on how the teachers would be able themselves to participate in shaping the programme, in adapting it to the local conditions, in applying methodology, in preparing the material. That was training. Training not in the traditional ways that is held, we wanted it to be different (GS1, p.3).

This was necessary in GS1's view because:

> In adult education no one had knowledge. Exactly this is the theme of training. Because there are not [training programmes], they are not taught in universities; in Greece we do not work on this logic. It was based on this: that the programme of SCSs itself was not a programme from top to bottom, where everything is central, a recipe, and then the educators simply apply it in practice. It was a programme that to a great extent is based on the schools themselves (GS1 p.4).

In addition GS1 said that he visualized the educators to be designers and to give voice to their work: "The sense of the educator as a designer did not come by itself, it is based on what the educators do in schools. It is necessary to reinforce their effort and we considered the training to be based not simply on covering inadequacies, as it is usually done in training, but to distinguish the educator as a designer of his own educational work. That was considered to be completely necessary" (GS1, p.4). He also added that training was organised "as a workshop, as a preparation of educators to become shapers/modulators gradually in one school, the five schools, then ten schools, into school meetings, through the scientific advisors to develop the pedagogic and didactic approach" (GS1, p.4 & 14). He saw workshops as central to the training but accepted that they "were not always successful" (GS1, p.14), drawing attention to some implementation difficulties.

It was notable that GS1 talked extensively about training while the other general secretaries did not put such an emphasis on it. For GS1 it was a bottom-up issue, while GS2 saw it in more structured terms as a means of support for a centralised national register of suitably qualified adult educators. But this was not implemented during the two years from 2008-2010 of GS3's tenure. Later, under

GS4's tenure, a generalised process of initial training on SCSs was introduced, plus training on adult education, and specialist training on prisoner and gypsy education.

The notion of negotiation arose as a strong theme from the interview with GS1, who spoke about involving and listening to teachers, as well as the team of academics he worked with. He described "a polymorphy of training", "a rolling programme"; he thought training happened "By searching. Not a sonorous programme, searching in the process" (GS1, p.11-12).

> Everything was, I remember in a sense of negotiation, searching, finding, agreeing on certain things. At the first stage it was to invite them, talk with them, and develop the philosophy and the broader aims, to get to know each other, to ask questions and worries. It was held centrally, once or twice a year. The presentation of projects at the end of the school year was also important (GS1, p.12).

It was also notable that GS1 used the word 'osmosis' on several occasions. He believed that "through this osmosis it was possible in some way for the needs from schools to come out so that the central team could agree as a negotiation let's call it, not bargaining, that is the training in order to clarify the aims. In the process this became participatory" (GS1, p.7).

GS2 referred to the notion of negotiating too but in the sense of listening to all the views and then decided himself what was the best for the majority. He said: "Committees had been composed and made a proposal. It is the known classical procedure. The committees made their suggestions and the political leadership, let me characterize it this way, of the sector, decided. So it can be considered a common decision with the final signature of the leader, as it happens in all democratic systems" (GS2, p.4). He added that:

> I listened to different things... there were different approaches but in my village as they say: listen to everybody but don't change your view (laughing). Well I co-evaluated - let's say if I saw there were big reactions, I co-evaluated - but what always led me was finally was what I considered right for the whole process. I could see the end of the process (GS2, p.9).

To sum up, teachers were more actively included in the training and negotiation processes during GS1's and GS2's tenure, after which the whole system of training started being more structured and transformed to a long-distance programme, though this was not applied finally because of a political change.

5.4 The Development of the Curriculum

GS1 presented the curriculum for SCSs as:

> Not pre-constructed. Continuously changing to be enriched with experience, mostly a procedure with some criteria, a thing in action not a ready-made product, with participation of schools in the process, with teachers' involvement in the process, where they found meaning in education because they felt participants in it. And finally the idea of ownership, they felt that SCSs were their effort (GS1, p.10).

He gave a great importance to the participation of teachers in the formation. He stated that:

> I know many educators who were from [secondary] schools and they told me that SCSs were completely different and they found a meaning again in education with SCSs exactly because in SCSs they felt that they were participants themselves. It is what we call ownership. This is really important. They felt that it was their decision, not the decision of a central team or the decision of a general secretary or I don't know who else's. They considered that SCSs was their effort (GS1, p.10).

He also added that there were "many discussions on the issue of ways of designing and evaluation" but as he emphasized "it was a constant tension I would say and a constant negotiation. This is what happens with these things but I think that you cannot solve them in the process, not even to pre-define them. I made big efforts academically, and there were many different views in the academic team, as it always happens" (GS1, p.10-11). As GS1 explained "the biggest priority was to set up SCSs, to be attractive because we're talking about people who dropped out of education completely, ok? The big betting was to bring them back to education and stay in education. That was the biggest priority" (GS1, p.11). As a result, the curriculum during GS1's tenure was designed through the work of teachers who were called to participate in an innovation while they accepted guidelines from a team of academics.

In relation to the curriculum development GS2 stated:

> We had found a curriculum, the curriculum you remember. With the experience we were acquiring we modified it, we completed it. This is in the logic of all systems and again we will modify it.....after some years, with experience, it should be filled in, should be modified. There will possibly be a second, a third foreign language as an option. All these are part of life and evolution (GS2, p.8).

This is the only statement GS2 made in the whole interview about the curriculum.

With regard to curriculum development and modifications during his tenure, GS3 made the following comment:

> [We discussed it] everyday... That is whatever new data existed internationally, I was trying to integrate and of course whatever proposals were brought from the immediate collaborators and the further ones. You are a partner since you are a head teacher of a school so you bring a suggestion as a partner. I put this suggestion in immediately to see where it can be integrated or if it differentiates something or upgrades something with the new perception that you bring inside yourself (GS3, p.15-16).

His approach was to accept suggestions offered in a relatively ad hoc manner.

GS4 intended to make some changes in the curriculum by making it a bit tighter because he got the sense from the SCSs that it was very loose. However it was left up to the central team of academics to investigate and decide on these matters

> A scientific group, a Committee composed of officials of the Secretariat but also by external professors will make an evaluation of the programmes. ...from what I have visited, they do not want to feel different, nor to shuffle off responsibility, that is the issue of exams, i.e., the issue of not having books, they don't want it. They want it a little tighter even themselves. I am not saying that it will be like normal high school ... it made an impression on me because it came from below as a request. I discussed it with [the prime minister's personal assistant but also a professor in adult education] (GS4, p.17-18).

In response to closer questioning about the motivation of second chance students and the previous GSs' intention to keep them in education, GS4 responded: "There will be an investigation, but they are saying it themselves. Obviously there will be flexibility. Obviously we won't give them casual tests and exams and you are cut off and you go away. I did not say such a thing. The Commission will judge it" (GS4, p.17-18). So GS4 placed considerable emphasis on the academic teams for steps to be made ahead in curriculum design.

In Summary

In summary, then, it seems that throughout the whole decade 2000-2010 more attention was focused on establishing the SCSs than on the development of curriculum for the new field of adult education in Greece.

CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE TWO ADVISORS OF ENGLISH IN SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLS

The institution of 'Thematic Advisors' for each subject was considered as essential at the end of GS1's tenure. For English, EA1 was appointed as Thematic Advisor at the beginning of 2004 (under GS1) and remained in her position up to 2008 under GS2. Because of the expansion of SCSs in 2005, EA2 was appointed as a second thematic advisor for English. Both advisors undertook a guiding, training and coordinating role of the teachers of English in SCSs, in the training meetings that were held all over Greece.

In this chapter I report the findings from my interviews with the two English Advisors who spanned the period from 2004-2008 within which training of English educators was active.

Introduction

The data in this part of the chapter are organised according to the themes as they arose from the analysis of the interviews with the two English Advisors. These interviews were held in Athens in the English Advisors' offices between 01-03/11/2010. The themes that arose from the interviews are organised into three categories. The first section presents issues related to initial university training for teachers of English and their professional identity in Greece. The second section presents issues related to the curriculum and material creation in SCSs. The third section deals with issues related to the organisation of training in English in SCSs and implementation difficulties.

The two English Advisors are referred to as EA1, EA2, in abbreviated form.

6.1. The training of Teachers of English in Greece as University Undergraduates

As described in the introductory chapter of this thesis, in Greece the way of becoming an English teacher is to get, after exams, into the English Department of one of two universities: The Aristotle University in Thessaloniki [http://www.enl.auth.gr/], or the National Kapodistrian University in Athens [http://www.enl.uoa.gr/]. The universities are managed centrally by the Ministry of Education so they take orders directly from it and they have little autonomy.

Each university has its own programme of courses in different areas of Linguistics, Literature and Translation. Some of these courses are obligatory while others are optional. As soon as you finish your degree in English you can be an English teacher in private education or in public education either in primary or secondary education by taking national ASEP [the Supreme Council for Civil Personnel Selection] exams. These arrangements have been in place since 1994.

Both English Advisors of SCSs worked in the Kapodistrian University. In her interview, EA1 explained that in the English Department they have a 'serious big programme' with many courses in the framework of initial training of University students. EA2 characterised the Kapodistrian University's programme as "a marvellous programme of training undergraduate students which has started in the last ten to twelve years" (EA2, p.1). Being at the university since 1981 she saw very big changes happening but not continuously. EA1 explained in detail the changes that have taken place in the area of Language and Linguistics. In recent years, she said the field has been enriched with new language theories, learning theories such as the literacy model which had come from Australia, which they used at SCSs. These new theories were interdisciplinary in nature (EA1, p.2 & 3).

EA1 reported that when SCSs opened in Greece there was no training in adult education for teachers of English. She considered that this was not surprising because she pointed out there was no training that leads to a post-graduate degree in adult education in general across Greece, other than through the Hellenic Open University. EA1 characterised the HOU programmes as 'decontextualized' because there were principles discussed to be applied in all disciplines. In the English Department of the university she explained that there was no special course on adult education; adult education was offered only as part of a basic methodology course of English which dealt with how different audiences are taught. These methodology modules were obligatory.

6.1.1 English Teachers' Training after the University

In Greece once you have a university degree in English there is no further need for training if you wish to become a teacher in English. Teachers of English who are in public service have no mandatory continuing professional development. The only public systematic training is initial training that is offered to all subjects together for those who get into the public system by PEK [Regional Training Centres]. Since 1999 PEK have offered no specific training to teachers of English [http://archive.minedu.gov.gr/el_ec_pagesst1045.htm]. PEKADE [The Panhellenic

Union of Teachers of English of Public Education], TESOL and other organisations offer different events or seminars from time to time but not on a regular basis.

Both EAs generally supported this system of post qualification training, and also added that some school advisors [of primary and secondary education] organise some seminars but not on a systematic basis. However, they both regretted the fact that there is not any specific CPD for teachers of English. EA2 added that there should definitely be regular training for teachers of English who are the pioneers in new methodologies in relation to other specialist disciplines but "we are behind in this sector of training because this is one of the many sectors that we are behind, it is not only that. This cannot get going since there is no general policy on it" (EA2, p.3).

Both EAs wanted to see more training and more CPD for teachers of English and more creativity in the teaching of English. EA1 particularly focused on the development of teachers' creativity "creativity plays a very important role. But I want to say that I consider that teachers of English do the kind of preparation that makes them the only educators who can more easily get adjusted to new models, to new ways of teaching" (EA1, p.4). EA2 spoke at length about the importance of creative writing. This was her particular field of study and she expressed concern about absence of training of teachers in this area and her own lack of power to affect the decisions of the Ministry of Education.

6.1.2 English Teachers' Professional Identities and Resistance to Change

EA1 considered teachers of English in SCSs like Primary School teachers: generally open and fairly extrovert in character. However, she also noted that they seem to her to be resistant to change, particularly changes in their routine and working harder. She said that she found it interesting "to see how the teachers themselves define their professional identities" (EA1, p.5). She considered that their professional identity was created by their university studies and since there was no extra training she considered it difficult for them to acquire a professional identity. EA2 had also found teachers of English very resistant to change. She also considered that this is because they had not been used to receiving training in public schools. She commented that it was difficult to change people's beliefs and she regretted this. EA2 said that both English Advisors worked very well together and they believed that the teachers could do new things when they had the right disposition, talent and degree of openness (EA2, p.3).

EA1 said that there was a need for change for teachers of English in public service, because new theories were developed. However, she pinpointed that English teachers were a diverse group and some were conservative and reluctant to change. Nevertheless despite observing this conservatism on the whole she thought that teachers of English were more open than teachers of other subjects.

6.2 The Role of English Advisors

General training meetings for SCSs started in 2000 but it was at the beginning of 2004, under GS1, that they decided that thematic advisors would train the teachers of each subject in workshops. So EA1 was first involved with SCSs in January 2004 after having been proposed by one of her colleagues. EA2 got involved in the training of educators in SCSs a year later, through EA1, who had informed her about it. She had heard about alternative education and saw this as a good opportunity.

Discussing the topic of Thematic Advisors in another interview, AD2 (a member of the administrative staff, who led the SCSs' project team) stated that it seemed essential to have an Educational Advisor or coordinator of each subject because many adult students had learning difficulties or traumatic experience. In AD2's opinion, teaching adults involved more difficulties, and English and Computers were considered the key subjects in the curriculum of SCSs. More than that, the educators, both the seconded staff coming from secondary education and the part time teachers, did not have the same tendency to confront the subject in an innovative way so they needed support (AD2, p.3).

The role of English advisor included the coordination of workshops and guidance of teachers of English in SCSs. EA1 said that:

> My role was mainly coordination only of the workshops in any way I considered that would be effective… and later on to keep an electronic contact with the teachers of English. The creation of an electronic classroom was my idea and something like that was not required (EA1, p.6 & 7).

EA2 stated that she had either a training or guiding or supportive role to the educators of SCSs, sometimes all three at once. During GS1's tenure EA1 got directions from the first Training Organiser but that was for a short period because there were elections in April and there was a political change. GS2 took over. The role was changed and the reformulation of the SCSs curriculum was a priority. The formation of the English Curriculum was for the first time added to

EA1's obligations. A scientific team of SCSs was created and the thematic advisors were members of it. This team functioned up to 2008 and then it weakened because no more training was provided. As EA1 explained "During GS2's tenure there were different decisions which clearly affected the teaching that was done in SCSs and of course that created some specific conditions relating to how to do our work" (EA1, p. 7 & 8). The rapid expansion of SCSs caused a dramatic increase in the number of temporary educators employed on a basis of six hours per week which had an immediate effect on the homogeneity of permanent teachers in the workshops.

EA2 stated that both EAs got directions from the second training organiser who was very diligent in her work and discussed with them all the details of training. EA2 added that together with EA1 they had all schools, all regions in Greece, and they decided any changes to the content of the training meetings in the workshops:

> I made alterations the moment I saw that the educators were asking for them. First I asked their views, what their needs were. So we made a real workshop where we talked about the problems that they faced and how they could solve them. I tried to give them solutions that were related to literature (EA2, p7).

By drawing knowledge and experience from her field of specialisation she considered that the English teachers' work would be more imaginative and creative.

6.2.1 Formation of the Curriculum

The first curriculum for SCSs included the same guidelines for teaching both the Greek and the English language. This guidance was controversial and caused a lot of discussion amongst teachers in SCSs from 1999 up to the end of 2003. However, both EAs approved this policy move. EA1 explained why:

> because it is in the framework of a common policy for the languages and not to separate a foreign language, from the teaching of the native language. And this [the Greek SCS system] is the only environment that I know where something like that has happened. And I consider that this is very important (EA1, p.5 & 6).

It is interesting to track how this unified language policy had come about, particularly as both supporters and detractors of the policy agreed upon the fact that it was unusual to use the same curriculum framework for both native and foreign language teaching. Two other interviewees, AD3 (GS1's advisor and member of the project team of SCSs) and TRO1 (the first training organiser who

was an academic) felt that the decision to treat the subjects in this way had been a mistake. AD3 explained how it happened: he had been charged with finding academic support at universities for the SCS curriculum development as the general's advisor (GS1). He was unable to find academic support for creating separate guidelines for the English language and searching for academics was a painstaking effort for him. He said that "We didn't find cooperation for the teaching of the foreign language. I think it needed some other attention at that time which we couldn't give" (AD3, p.5). Because of this practical difficulty, it was suggested that a common framework would suffice since the principles involved were general. AD3 commented "Many times in pedagogy we make necessary reflective adaptations, as the poet says" (AD3, p.5).

TRO1 agreed about the root of the decision to use a common curriculum framework for English and Greek: "I don't think that we took special care of English; for me that was a mistake; because of our own weakness, clearly, for reasons of time and our weakness" (TRO1, p.5). She explained that the scientific team wrote the first guidelines of the SCSs during a summer, working under GS1's pressure to finish them by the schools' starting date in September. She said: "at the end of June AD3 came and he asked to prepare the guidelines of studies of SCSs; we got some person for mathematics who quitted and we were pulling our hair because we were running out of time. Of course SCSs should have been set up for two years and then started functioning".

EA1 however believed that the curriculum model taken from the Greek subject had been originally developed by a mixed team of English and Greek teachers. Together with EA2, she said that they had adopted 'a bottom-up approach'. They took the old guidelines and kept the common topics that were considered good because they could be cross curricular projects. EA1 added that the content was the result of collective work which they tested in six or seven workshops through the teachers' experience in class, keeping what worked and throwing away what did not. EA1 and EA2 wrote the introduction to the curriculum. EA1 concluded that:

> This was not only a very democratic procedure but it also has a meaning because it came from the educators themselves and it didn't come out of me sitting in my office and saying what the educator would do today. I don't know how much the educators themselves could realise it. How much they understood that it is the result of collective work (EA1, p.20 &21- 22)?

So EA1 concluded that the guidelines for English were the result of both their own interventions and the teachers' feedback.

6.2.2 Material Creation for Second Chance Schools

The creation of the curriculum was combined with the creation of material, that is, lesson plans, activities and projects in electronic form. EA1 considered this to be her own initiative because IDEKE did not ask her to do it initially. EA1 said she was fairly satisfied with the first material that had been gathered; at first she was reliant on the material she received from teachers. Later, in EA1's opinion, colleagues did 'exceptional work' which was presented in training workshops and she really regretted not having videotaped them so that they could be further disseminated. She said: "I thought of the idea of the electronic classroom, so that the teacher who is in Crete would be able to see the work of the teacher who is in Drama and who has no possibility of ever actually meeting this person" (EA1, p.15). EA1 explained that her aim of the electronic class was for the exchange of materials predominantly, to help substantially develop teachers' creativity, and not to offer training or professional development because she believed that personal contact was most important for this (EA1, p.22).

EA2 commented on the variety of material that was created: "we gathered a lot of material which has a lot of interest because it has a great variety and the educators themselves found it really good" (EA2, p.14). She talked about specific exceptional examples of work that teachers of English created: "And I believe the results were very good for the students so I want this idea to be caught by teachers and then to be developed and something really beautiful to be created. I believe that these and the blending of strengths functioned very well at SCSs" (EA2, p.15). However, she pointed out that not all SCS teachers created material so there was no portfolio of material in SCSs and teachers were asking for help from the EAs. There was no consistency from school to school. As she explained, some enlightened educators left material and this material was enriched by the new ones and they were talking about it in workshops but not all of them did it. Some temporary teachers particularly were not motivated to be involved in materials development.

EA1 however considered that, in the workshop sessions, her main role was to listen to the teachers. Her aim was not to make presentations herself but to allow the presentations to come from the educators. She said it would have been easy to do it herself but instead she had asked everybody to come and present a teaching unit, an activity, a project they did:

> By doing this, by the end of the day each educator left having collected a packet of different ideas. Many times this might have

been considered as a weakness on my side, the fact that I let people talk and get out of their world. That had been done on purpose, having as an aim that the educators themselves should develop, to talk about their work and to present their work (EA1, p.10).

Through these sessions she assessed the teachers: she felt she could understand immediately who had understood the logic of SCSs and who had not. She said that those considered not to have understood were dealt with individually without explaining what she did with them. She felt that producing a kind of competition among the educators through the production of material was a creative element she brought to the workshop training.

EA1 confirmed that the workshops were inadequate to cover all the teachers' training needs: "they cannot be covered. When you talk, the needs are so different that it is impossible. The aim of the training meetings is not only to cover needs, because that varied unbelievably" (EA1, p.11). EA1 noted that the needs in the Peloponnese were different from the needs in Thessaloniki or from the ones in Athens. She added that "Here it would be interesting to see what is the thing that we consider a need and what the educators themselves consider as needs" (EA1, p.11).

On the other hand, AD2's perspective was that the scientific advisors could have been more active: they saw their role as guiding, and when they were asked by teachers for specific help they did not always give any. They were there, they listened to all the teachers but they did not make concrete suggestions. AD2 believed that it was not essential that the scientific advisors were appointed from amongst university professors; they could have been people with experience, with qualifications in the relevant sector. She thought that better work could have emerged from this (AD2, p.5&6).

6.3 Training

It seemed that all types of different problems emerged through the training period of English from 2004 to 2008, related to students, teachers, implementation, administrative staff and policy decisions and pace. EA1 first referred to schools in prisons: "There were also different issues of a completely different form which existed in prisons" (EA1, p.11 & 12). These problems were to some extent resolved by AD4 who organised in-school training for the English literacy inside the prisons. The second problem EA1 referred to was regional differences and conservatism: "in Peloponnese where there was a conservatism of

another type, it was far too widespread and there were many other problems there too" (EA1, p.11 & 12). The third one EA1 referred to was a mismatch of the starting time of SCSs and the training sessions: "A problem with the training meetings was usually that they started late for the new teachers at SCSs, many times they got in schools in September and the first training meeting was in December or January" (EA1, p.11 & 12).

Many teachers found it difficult to handle adult difficulties in learning English. People had left school because of learning difficulties, because there was no diagnosis years ago. When these adult learners returned to school they were being taught not only Greek but English as well. This was even harder for them and here there was nothing specific to help teachers immediately. EA1 recognised that learning difficulties were an issue for the teachers but in her view the aim of the training sessions was to 'explain the logic of the model of literacy in that environment, to help teachers work in a different way and develop educational material, and without a book' (EA1, p.11).

EA2 also felt that "The problem of teaching adults with learning difficulties had been identified; they referred it, they discussed it and it was transferred to the psychologists" (EA2, p.12). She added that the educators themselves were talking about how they could solve such problems and they even suggested solutions. EA2 was not sure that the training could cater for the multitude of problems the adult students might face: "I believe all these people had a special problem each one with a different one. If you took all these problems you should have different meetings for each problem, isn't that so?" (EA2, p.12)

Another issue that EA2 mentioned was the absence of an upper age limit of students' acceptance in SCSs; students could be above eighteen so "There were also issues of age, when the other is 80 or 85 because we heard that too, or 70, students who decided at this age to attend SCSs, shouldn't they have special lessons?" (EA2, p.12) EA2 also referred to the need for having special training in prisons and for Roma people:

> Shouldn't these people have a special training? It is not only a matter of making them have a great time.... They had great problems. Here in Nea Liosia I got into classrooms of creative writing although it was not my duty to see what they are doing and I took them a book ...I chose poems which I thought would move them and you cannot imagine what they told me ....they wrote poems, they presented them ...it was all so touching. (EA2, p.12)

During the interview the issue of the prefecture of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace came up as a topic and EA1 commented positively on both schools and educators

and admitted that all the scientific advisors in all subjects wanted to get to Thessaloniki because of progressivism in the schools of Macedonia: "There was always a very good dynamic of the group which was very positive. The ideas that the teachers developed were light years ahead in relation to what we heard in other training meetings" (EA1, p.14). Nevertheless, it is notable that EA1 did not refer to the difficulties of Thrace related to the multicultural citizenship of different minorities. By contrast, EA2 agreed on the high levels of enthusiasm amongst the teachers in eastern Macedonia and Thrace and she commented specifically about the area of Thrace and the teachers of English:

> They impressed me many times because there were so many problems in Thrace, where we were talking about the role of songs, about the different cultures how these could be embedded and become creative in such a different audience especially for Pomak who didn't know English. That is what should the educator do? And I believe the educators who had chosen to go to those schools were exceptional (EA2, p.13).

EA2 talked about the regional problem of Thrace where the students who attended SCSs were of different minorities and they could not write and read in the Greek language. These people had to learn English too and that caused an extra difficulty both to students and teachers of English. EA2 suggested there should be training seminars for each region because:

> When the other cannot communicate at all in his language because his language is not spoken and the educator speaks Greek that he doesn't know [Turkish], we are speaking about a very big problem. Well, and the fact that they were mixed groups so you differentiate them immediately from the moment some of them speak while the rest don't speak so they will either deal with their own people or be completely isolated (EA2, p.12).

It was a matter of class cohesion and communication. EA2 had suggested different articles to teachers in Thrace: linguistic articles on the Turkish language, on the effects of the Greek language on Turkish, and the effects of the Turkish language on Greek.

EA2 also referred to common difficulties she located when teachers started working at SCSs: "Lack of dictionaries, lack of space, and the schools were empty, they could not be housed with other schools, they were trying to find computers" (EA2, p.12). EA2 remarked that both Advisors referred to all the shortages analytically, many times, in reports they were obliged to send after each workshop.

6.4 Implementation Difficulties

EA1 also referred to implementation problems such as the commitment of the EPEAEK framework that was subsidized by the EU. She explained that training sessions were happening in the binding framework of an EPEAEK programme which had a clear bureaucratic character before they were subsidized by the European Community. It was clearly a decision based on the requirements of EPEAEK and not on the needs of teachers about where the training sessions would happen, when and to whom. More than that, SCSs had started in different years, different phases and there was a point under GS2 that some phases [the first ones] had nine training meetings per year because they were financed while others had none, so the training did not reach all the educators (EA1, p.12).

According to EA1 another issue that caused problems in training meetings was the expansion of schools and practical difficulties in managing the process of training because when the expansion was at full strength they had fourteen meetings for both EAs per year: "We were with a suitcase every second weekend and we went to a different place. At the end we didn't know, we didn't remember which phase of schools we would see. The logic was at an administrative level" (EA1, p.12). EA1 was referring to a lack of consideration of the logistics of the training programme. It was tiring, they repeated the same things, they got tired but they had to do it because they were just two advisors for the whole Greece and they did their duty. It was not their responsibility if they were not effective.

 GS2 decided to stop training the teachers in the first SCSs because, in his view, there was no meaning in training; 'They knew very well what they would do'. They started training the newer ones but the homogeneity of the teachers' workshops was disturbed and the English Advisors' life became very difficult as EA1 confessed. EA1 added that the problem was created because there was a rapid increase of schools and branches so the teachers increased too: "when the schools became about fifty and a bit more there was a management problem" (EA1, p.12).

One of the issues EA1 focused on was the absence of keeping records of training. She said that they had in mind to produce some publications that really described all the experience and create documentation for future teachers. She remarked that there were some fragmentary volumes but officially there was no recording of training although there were datasheets of EPEAEK and reports. She explained

the reason: "The thing had reached the point of becoming a very bureaucratic thing".

After 2008, as a consequence of these problems with training, GS2 decided that something different was required. Because of the growth of SCSs and Centres of Adult Education (KEE), training for all sectors of adult education was to be combined. EA1 commented:

> As a scientific team we had opposed to that then, we had said that the needs of the teachers who work in SCSs are completely different, even of the students in SCSs from those in KEE (EA1, p.12 & 13).

EA2 commented on the issue of innovations and political resistance in Greece when she was asked her opinion about the face-to-face meetings having been stopped and substituted with a new long-distance programme:

> I radically disagree. That needs a broader policy and strategy. It needs decisions that start from the Ministry of Education which is above all the responsible department. From there all the strategies should start about where we want to go. The EU gave us the money, it helped us all these years; what do we want to do with all these schools we have opened in each prefecture and which I consider very correct policy? That's what should have been done but what is happening from now on? What is happening from now on? (EA2, p.13)

She continued expressing herself fervently about policy when she was asked why the educational innovations did not go ahead as appears to happen abroad: "Because the politicians change, because the ministers of education change, because the whole system changes very easily and very fast.... and the same decisions are not kept for the next ones. They are recanted by the next president" (EA2, p.13).

She went on and she suggested what there should be:

> a stability of policy, a strategy which we know is in effect for ten or fifteen years and to gather the problems. But not, because they have gathered and we don't consider the system quite radical enough, to break it and make something new in three years or in four or five. There should be enlightened people with a steady process with its changes but changes from within and not a radical solution, take that completely out.

EA2 commented on the egocentricism in Greece where each one wants to impose his own views: "It is always a matter of politics and the system itself recants what it really wants. And it is enervating and it promotes other things not values... it is an arteriosclerosis" (EA2, p.13).

In Summary

Both English Advisors developed their views on training of teachers of English by drawing from their knowledge and experience as professors of the University and their personal contact with the teachers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS FROM THE TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLS IN EASTERN MACEDONIA AND THRACE

7.1 Background to Eastern Macedonia and Thrace

The focus area of my study was teachers of English and their training in SCSs in the specific region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace, in Northern Greece. Seven SCSs were visited in the prefectures of Drama, Kavala, Xanthi, Komotini, Sapes, Alexandroupoli and Orestiada. The last five prefectures are characterised by the coexistence of native Greek, diverse linguistic minorities, cultural otherness and cultural blending (Zembylas, 2008). The official state language is Greek. Plurilingualism in Western Thrace is deeply rooted in the formulation of the Modern Greek state as a result of the migration of many neighbouring ethnic groups (Kokkas, 2006). The composition of the Muslim population of Western Thrace is approximately the following: Roma: 18,000 (16%), Pomak-speaking: 38,000 (34%), Turkish-speaking: 56,000 (50%), (Vakalios, 1997:24 in Kostopoulos 2003:55-78). These border communities have retained their own culture and language.

Public education in this area is a means of intercultural communication for all members of ethnic groups, leading to the cultivation of a mutual respect for the "other" but with plenty of problems in linguistic production as well as learning difficulties associated with specific attitudes and practices. In spite of the great improvement of multicultural education in recent years in the region, the percentage of students dropping out of school remains high. After 1997 the Ministry of Education set up research projects in the area and launched special school books for students whose mother tongue is not Greek and after-school tuition for students who needed additional assistance, funded by the European Union. There are still significant problems such as school dropping out and learning difficulties for Muslim pupils since their mother tongue is not being taught or because of mother tongue interference (Mavrommatis 2003). For example, according to the Pedagogical Institute of the Greek Ministry of Education, in the school year 1997-1998 the four secondary schools operating in the Pomak villages of the Prefecture of Xanthi were among the five schools of Greece with the highest percentage of school abandonment (over 60 %). The highest percentage was that in the Secondary School of Thermes (almost 95 %)

Newspaper [*To Βήμα*], 10-03-2002. In the school year 2002-3 the percentage reduced to 52.43% of the 1999-2000 Muslim graduates who attended Secondary education in the Prefecture of Rodopi while in the Prefecture of Xanthi it reached 73.1% (Kelesides & Marangos 2003, Kanakidou 1998).

Within this specific context SCSs were created from 2003 to 2008 in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace to fight adult illiteracy. The SCSs of Alexandroupoli, Drama and Komotini were established in 2003, the SCS of Xanthi in 2004, the SCS of Sapes in 2005, the SCS of Orestiada in 2006 and the SCS of Kavala in 2008. Teachers of English in Thrace SCSs had to teach English to adults who had dropped out of the public educational system without having mastered Greek. Learning English was an extra burden for the students, and teachers were required to be specially trained in considering the learning situation as well as the social implications of a multicultural society.

Twenty-three teachers, who had worked or were working in SCSs at the moment of the interview, were interviewed. In this chapter I report the findings from my interviews with the twenty-three teachers of English who spanned different periods of teaching in SCSs both as permanent, seconded staff and as temporary staff from 2003-2010.

7.2 Dataset

The data in this part of the chapter are organised according to the themes as they arose from the analysis of the interviews with the twenty-three teachers of English. These interviews were held in SCSs in seven prefectures of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace between 30/11/2010 to 20/01/2011. The themes that arose from the interviews are organised into four categories. The first section presents the profile and the teaching background of the teachers of English. The second section presents issues related to their experience and understanding in SCSs in 2010 by reporting the positives about SCSs, the challenges of teaching in SCSs and the support to policy. The third section deals with issues related to the provision of current professional support for teachers of English in SCSs and their recommendations. The fourth section is concerned with data related to theories of literacy and pedagogy the English teachers used in their classrooms and their own future in SCSs.

The twenty-three teachers of English are referred to as T1 to T23, in abbreviated form.

7.3 Profile and Background of the Teachers

The majority of teachers (20) were female, while only three were male. They were both permanent, seconded staff (11) in SCSs and temporary staff (12). Temporary staff travelled around the region from year to year so that many of them had worked in two or three schools. Six of the interviewees worked in the SCSs of Drama (including the branches), five in Sapes, four in Xanthi, four in Komotini, three in Alexandroupoli, three in Kavala and two in Orestiada which means that four of them worked in two schools and they (T3, T8, T9 and T14) had more experience of the regional situation and its problems. For the school year 2010-2011 there were five permanent teachers (T2, T7, T14, T17 and T18) and five temporary teachers (T6, T11, T12, T20 and T23) who were interviewed. Their overall teaching experience ranged for the permanent staff from five to thirty years with the average being sixteen years, while for the temporary staff experience ranged from three to eleven years, the average being 6.4 years.

Permanent staff was seconded in SCSs from two to seven years while two teachers had worked as temporary staff in SCSs and then they were appointed to a permanent position in public education. The average length of teaching experience in SCSs for the permanent staff was 3.8 years. The temporary staff's average length of teaching experience in SCSs ranged from one month to four years and the average was 1.47 years. Temporary staff was looking for a job and nine of them spent some months or a whole year in SCS because that would give them credits to get appointed into the public educational system. Seven permanent teachers and eight temporary teachers had got a postgraduate degree while one was thinking of starting one. It was notable that one permanent teacher (T7) had three postgraduate degrees, one of which was in adult education. One of the permanent staff was a PhD candidate. A total of fifteen teachers of English out of twenty-three interviewees had a postgraduate degree. The following table is for ease of reference:

Table 7.1:Permanent Teachers of English in SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (2003-2010)

NAME	SEX	REGION	STUDIES	OVERALL EXPERIENCE	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN SCS
T1	F	DRAMA	Masters in the society of Information at Egeo University, PhD candidate at Dimokritio University at the Department of Primary Education with the issue: Teaching Methodology in Long-Distance Education	25 years	3 years (2004-2007)
T2	F	DRAMA	University Degree	29 years 20 years in public education and 9 years in private education	5 years (2006-2011)
T7	F	KOMOTINI	3 Masters in teaching English, in adult education and in administrative management	30 years of experience, 4 in private education, 26 years in public service	6 years (2004-2011)
T10	F	ALEXANDROUPOLI	1 Masters in English teaching HOU	28 years 17 years in private education and 11 years in public service	7 years (2003-2010)
T13	F	XANTHI	University degree	6 years of teaching experience	3 years as temporary staff (2004-2007)
T14	M	XANTHI & SAPES	Masters for teaching English of HOU	19 years teaching experience, 12 in private education and 7 in public education	4 years (2006-2011)

T15	F	XANTHI	Masters in Translation	11 years of teaching experience, 3 years in private education and 8 years in public	3 years (2005-2008)
T16	F	XANTHI	University Degree	13 years of teaching experience both in private and public service	1 year (2007-2008)
T17	F	SAPES	Masters in Didactics of teaching Languages	12 years of teaching experience, 4 in public education and 8 in private education	2 years (2009-2011)
T18	F	SAPES	Masters	5 years in public education	2 years (2009-2011)
T22	F	KAVALA	University Degree	8 years working in public education, 7 years as temporary staff	1 year as temporary staff (2008-2009)

| Table 7.2 Temporary Teachers of English in SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace (2003-2010) | | | | | |
NAME	SEX	REGION	STUDIES	OVERALL EXPERIENCE	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN SCS
T3	F	DRAMA(BOTH CENTRE AND BRANCH IN NEVROKOPI) & KOMOTINI	Master's Degree in learning difficulties at the moment of the interview	4 years, 1 in private education and 3 in public education as	3 years (2007-2009)

T4	F	DRAMA (IN PARANESTI)	MA in Applied Linguistics and TEFL	6 years in private education and 5 years in public education	1 year (2008-2009)
T5	F	DRAMA (PARANESTI)	Masters in translation and interpretation	6 years, 4 in private education and 2 in public education	1 year (2009-2010)
T6	F	DRAMA	University Degree	5 years, 2 in private education and 3 in public education	5 months (2009-2011)
T8	F	SAPES & KOMOTINI	University Degree in Sofia, Bulgaria, Masters in Linguistics but not accredited in Greece	11 years of teaching experience, 5 in private education and 5 in public education	4 years (2006-2010)
T9	F	KOMOTINI & SAPES	University Degree in Italy,	6 years in public education	2 years (2007-2008)
T11	F	ALEXANDROUPOLI	University Degree in Sofia, Bulgaria, 1 Masters in Language and Civilisation	9 years of experience, 4 in private education and 5 in public schools	1 year (just a few months at the time of the interview) (2010-2011)
T12	F	ALEXANDROUPOLI	University Degree in Utrecht, Holland, Master's Degree on teenagers	10 years teaching experience in Holland, Greek coming back to Greece	1 year (just a few months at the time of the interview) (2010-2011)
T19	M	ORESTIADA	Masters in teaching english	5 years in public education	2 years (2006-2008)
T20	F	ORESTIADA	University Degree but thinking of	7 years of teaching experience mostly in private education	1year (just started at the time of the interview)

			starting a Masters		(2010-2011)
T21	M	KAVALA	University Degree	6 years in public education	2 years (2008-2010)
T23	F	KAVALA	Masters in Teaching English	3 years of teaching experience as temporary staff	1 month (at the time of the interview) (2010-2011)

Eight out of twelve temporary teachers said they needed to work. They needed to get credits to get appointed into the public educational system so they had to accept any options that were available. As T16 stated, "initially, my aim was to obtain adequate working experience, so that I could be appointed permanently in the sector. In due course, every different experience proved to be a valuable source of feedback for me to improve my teaching skills in various environments. I grew really stronger educationally out of these". Most temporary teachers had no previous experience in adult education and they knew nothing about SCSs, they had no training seminars. T3 said "I came to SCSs because I wanted to get away from private education. When I came to SCSs I did not know what exactly they were, I had no training in this field and it was by chance that I started there." T20 explained that she was a little scared at first. Her difficulty was in approaching the students' needs.

The motives of permanent staff were quite different. Three out of eleven came into SCSs because the timetable of the school was convenient for them as SCSs functioned in the afternoon. T1 explained that "I went there because the timetable was convenient. I was attracted by the place. I saw new things. I felt that we were not staying at the degree we got, we were learning, we gave things". T10 explained that "SCS was a challenge for me. I got into IDEKE. It was a school without books, a view that I endorse". T17 and T18 came to SCSs because they had heard good reports about the work of SCSs and they needed to have experience in adult education. T14 referred to the good climate of the newly established school of Sapes "with very pleasant experience and memories, although the setting up of the school was difficult, with three permanent staff, the head teacher and the rest of the temporary staff, working more than the timetable but with very good cooperation with the first head teacher". He left the SCS because of the distance he had to travel, got back to mainstream education in the city centre of Xanthi and then regretted leaving because of the negative experience he had in mainstream education. He returned to SCSs but in Xanthi where he is still working.

7.4 Teachers' Experience and Understanding of Second Chance Schools

7.4.1 Positives about Second Chance Schools

The first positive element of SCSs was, according to half (12) of the teachers, the flexibility and the freedom to create their own material, according to the students' needs. T5 explained that "the flexibility to apply experiential, interactive methods getting away from the pre-defined teaching frameworks" was really important. T15 said "the fact of flexibility and not having a course book. I could see how much the students responded to the material and I could change it. I progressed according to the students' demands". T2 talked about the different methods and means she could use such as computers. T1 referred to the benefits of teaching in SCSs by saying "You take on people who know nothing, it's your responsibility for creating material and methodologies and after two years of school attendance students know how to speak a little English. You can see what you did, evaluate your work, and change things. It is you and the students".

The second positive element was the adult students themselves and their enthusiasm to get educated. The teachers reported that in the first years there was a positive climate of zeal. The teachers were enthused with the innovation and the freedom to plan their work through considering students' wants and needs. T6 explained that they had a very good cooperation because the students were conscious of the reason for attending SCSs. T7 stated that it was adult education that kept her in SCSs for seven years. She defined her programme based on the needs of the students and grouped their interests. T9 enjoyed the contact with the students who approached the teachers with great respect and they had a very friendly relationship. The students wanted to learn a lot of things and there was a different approach. The effort that the students made was evaluated. More than that, the very good working climate among colleagues and zeal for work impressed her. T13 was really enthusiastic about working in SCSs the first year because it was a new institution and everybody cooperated in the school. The students were excellent and they really wanted to learn. What T14 liked in SCSs was the thirst to learn. He

explained that "there were 40 to 50 year old people who had not had the capacity to learn some things and they came to SCSs having obligations, families, work and health problems, sometimes serious ones; they were conscious learners and most of them knew what they wanted, but not all of them". T16 emphasised as positive "the satisfaction and the shine on students' faces as their self-esteem and self-confidence got boosted". T19 considered that this tie with the students was vital. It was their choice to come and learn and they did not try to show a fake appreciation.

7.4.2 The Challenges of Teaching in Second Chance Schools

There were different challenges that teachers of English had to confront and that depended on the region where they were teaching, the group of people they had to teach, the different ages and levels of the students. The challenges included making the lesson interesting and keeping students in classrooms, simplifying material, dealing with tiredness and absence of students as well as regional, linguistic and social diversity. T10 and T18 found that teaching different levels of students was a challenge. There were beginners and advanced students and they had to adapt their teaching by creating material every year, enriching and changing it. There was also difference in the levels both of general and specific knowledge, difference in age and capabilities which were characteristic of mixed ability classes. T1, T15 and T21 said that it was challenging to make people of older age groups speak and feel happy about expressing themselves in English. It was challenging to get things across to them. It was rewarding and difficult to teach English to older adults who did not have any contact with English through TV or computers. It was a success when students watched a foreign film and they managed to understand some words.

Another group of teachers found it challenging to encourage the students to socialize with one another. T16 said that a challenge in SCSs was to help introverted adult students with low self-esteem to open up and believe in themselves. That went beyond transmitting sterile knowledge of the language. T3 believed that keeping the students in class, finding ways of keeping their interest and participation were a priority because students were not obliged to be there and they were not children to be scolded. T22 said that tiredness,

the timetable of the school and their absence made her create more attractive lessons to encourage students to attend. T23 found that students had memory problems and they needed revision and persistence. T9 found challenging the fact that adult students showed disbelief and doubt and she had to show that things were valid not because she said so, but based on doing them because this was how they learnt. T5 found the special background of students challenging. Each student carried his or her own personal life story. T4 said that she felt uncomfortable with older students because it was sometimes difficult for a young teacher to be accepted.

Teaching and methodology were also considered challenging. T2 and T12 found challenging the students' negative disposition to foreign language learning based either on previous bad experience or lack of everyday use. The first thing that she tried to do was make the lesson attractive by making the first steps easier, introducing the language, bringing maps and other material. T19 and T20 found it challenging that the students had no contact with English thus leading them to start from a beginner's level and simplify the lesson. That was combined with the fact that students could not write well in Greek and that affected learning English. They tried to teach and help them how to learn everyday things. T4 and T6 said that the materials provided were not enough. On the other hand, T8 talked about the projects as something new to her. She was taught how to make a project in the training seminars and she really enjoyed the procedure of creating projects.

Apart from the challenges the interviewed teachers talked about issues that caused difficulties in teaching and are characteristic of adult classes. T1 and T18 talked about the slow rhythm of their learning. T19, T20 and T22 explained that they had difficulty with students who did not believe in themselves, who had the sense that they could not learn so they did not want to participate because they were ashamed they might be ridiculed if they made a mistake. T15, T21 and T10 elaborated on the difficulties they had with the character of students who did not respond and who showed no interest in learning, who made degrading comments about other students and who came not for knowledge but to take the certificate in order to get a job. That reduced

their interest and participation. They said that some other students could not learn because of learning difficulties and other problems.

T4, T5 and T6 explained that the different background of the students as well as the age differences among the students was sometimes frustrating. They added that inconsistent attendance of students was an issue that created problems in their teaching because they had to integrate those missing back into the rhythm of the classroom. Differences between the level of writing and speaking were another issue. As T2 said the students had difficulty in writing but they could easily speak orally. That was due to the fact that they stopped having contact with pencil and paper a long time ago. Their level of Greek was bad and their English even worse.

T9 elaborated on the issue of management and keeping balance with those who objected and reacted against the sessions without shouting "because they were not kids". She added "That needs familiarization and definitely some training". Most of the temporary staff referred to the difficulty they had with the creation of material and it was interesting that they used "plenty of material from the all-day primary school" so the level was not demanding.

T14 explained that he could not have high expectations of achievement in the class. He considered that most of the students were under pressure. Some came to school in their work clothes while some others had to do two jobs to make ends meet. He was glad when the student responded more than earlier because he realized that age, health, personal reasons, unemployment, economic crisis were more important issues to them so he followed their learning potential.

T16 and T17 spoke about external problems. The fact that last year (2009-2010) lessons started in SCSs after Christmas (in March) was disappointing. The school in Sapes that year (2010-2011) had no head teacher for two months. Lack of infrastructure, of specific teacher training, of teaching material and equipment (not even a single dictionary) and bad payment conditions were some other important issues. A great deal rested on teachers' good will and effort.

7.5 Regional Difficulties

Another group of interviewees (T7, T11, T13, T14, T17 and T19) talked about the difficulty they had to face in the prefectures of Komotini, Xanthi, Sapes, Alexandroupoli and Orestiada. Most of the students were Muslims of Turkish origin and they did not speak Greek very well so they had to cope with the problem of communicating with their students first. They felt they should either help them with their Greek or learn Turkish themselves. Teachers did not know how to act and how best to avoid sensitive issues. T14 explained in detail that:

> A challenge is that at the SCSs of Sapes and Xanthi the majority of the students are members of the Muslim Minority who learn English as a third or fourth language. Sometimes their mother tongue is Turkish or Pomak or even the Roma language, so we talk about a fourth language. Pomak is a Slavic language. They are Muslims, local people, Thracians of mountainous Rodopi and Xanthi. They are of Slavic origin who were Islamized and obliged to learn Turkish in the Minority schools. That has bothered them. So they have to learn both Greek and English as a fourth language. If they aren't Pomaks English is their third language. This is a challenge because first of all, I have to stray into the languages and find common elements because everybody learns Turkish in the minority schools. I have done two years Turkish and I can manage the alphabet and the pronunciation better. At Sapes things were more difficult. Here in Xanthi the students are different. In Sapes it was extremely difficult because there were people who spoke no Greek. Another challenge is the multicultural challenge, that is, I have to be careful all the time how I behave, how to talk about religion. They are issues that need tactfulness. Another issue is how to treat Muslim women, how to behave, how to approach them. I don't wish to insult them but there are many times that you can be misunderstood for your behaviour by the Muslims. It is obvious that I cannot make any racist comments. There are other issues, social issues too.

T14 also added that all these social issues emerged while teaching a foreign language. He referred to an example of creating a short CV in English, as an application form, with first name, surname, father's name, sex, age, religion and mother tongue. Then he thought that he would create a problem and he crossed out the mother tongue because for the Muslims of the region mother tongue could be of three categories: for those having a Turkish origin it was Turkish, the one that they spoke in their homes. For those who declared that they were Pomak it was Pomak but there were different stories heard around.

Some Pomaks would declare Turkish as their mother tongue because they did not want to be Pomak. It was considered an insult there to be a Pomak. A Pomak was considered to be of a lower status. These multi-cultural difficulties, which also extended to the Roma Muslims, were seen as a challenge.

There were different difficulties and challenges in each region related to local conditions of life, preconceptions of the importance of education and what the rest of the society would judge as positive or negative. It was unusual to go to school at an old age in remote rural areas. There, society believed that education was only for children so those students who came back into education in SCSs had to fight against misconceptions. T3 explained the difficulties she had during the first year because of inexperience about the function of SCSs. She worked in three different SCSs in three years. In the SCS of Drama she mostly had mothers or old students with their own problems but they were open-minded people and they accepted being taught by a younger teacher. In Nevrokopi (a branch of Drama) it was different because the students came from different villages. They were mostly farmers of old age, often with alcoholic problems that teachers had to take into consideration. The school helped students but it also created problems because the rest of the villagers made fun of them. There was racism towards those coming to school and some of them dropped out for this reason.

In Iasmos (a branch of Komotini), initially T3 was frightened because of the religious issues; she felt that she had to become informed about the Muslim way of life. She was working in a Pomak village that was located between Xanthi and Komotini. She had no problem with the students there. However, she heard from one of her colleagues who was working in another Pomak village that students there had a problem because the teacher was a younger woman than them. The issue of the woman's position in society and how it was perceived was strong in the area. There were misconceptions about the freedom that Muslim women had and whether they let girls go to school. In Sapes one of the two teachers discussed a case of a Muslim father who attended the SCS in order to monitor his daughter's movements; she had insisted on being a student in the SCS. At the first level they had only two women, which showed that there were still taboos. In Xanthi's

SCS and in Komotini there was reference by the teachers to the taking of antidepressant drugs because women reported that they could not tolerate what was going on at home. T15 for example said: "Many Muslim women here take anti-depressive medicine because of oppression". This had an impact on educators in SCSs and more specifically on teachers of English who were ignorant of the situation and they did not know how to cope with it. They said they found teaching English difficult because there was no common frame of reference; students came to school to improve Greek and found they had to learn English as well. T7 said:

> Our school has some peculiarities in relation to learning Greek. That was a problem which remains a problem. We started with 60% Muslims and 40% Greek and now we have reached 90% Muslims and 10% Greek and this is a problem. We have made a programme of about 50 pages and sent it to Athens, to IDEKE proposing a way of confronting this; because they might have a primary school certificate but their knowledge is for the second or third class of primary. I see adherence to one central programme in SCSs which cannot cover the needs of a SCS in Athens and one in this area. They should have seen it with a broader spirit. I wouldn't say there isn't any understanding by the leadership. Perhaps there is not adequate knowledge of each different place or another behaving. The superiors still insist even in these alternative schools on a standard form of education, this inflexible style that things should be done in the same way in the whole country. It creates a problem to my work. But the educational space is the space where you have to work according to how you find things at a specific time, at a specific place, and I have learnt that after a long experience.

7.6 Effect in the Region

All teachers of English unanimously agreed that SCSs had a positive effect in all the prefectures. As T9 maintained:

> Certainly it was very effective in the area, because especially in remote areas like this one, people are given the chance to see beyond their everyday life. So, when they got in different projects, saw a foreign language, saw computers, saw young teachers with zeal to teach them, they suddenly got away from their micro-cosmos (world) and they realised and dealt with other things which were very important and they didn't feel marginalised. People who came to school and were very introverted, in the end they opened up and discussed different things. I don't know if this institution will survive but it was very important.

In Komotini, Alexandroupoli, Xanthi, Orestiada and Sapes all teachers who worked in SCSs (T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, T13, T15, T17, T18, T19 and T20) agreed that it affected positively the Minority ethnic women who got out of their houses, came in a place where they were heard and respected, got a certificate and started working. Many of them started their own business. It was a way of integrating groups of people and it was mainly a motive to get out of the suppression at home and to get connected with the community. The teachers thought that SCS still has much to offer in the area because there is a great percentage of illiteracy mainly among women. The dilemma was how to attract more people to come because local societies showed resistance and there were still a lot of people to be educated. In Drama and Kavala, teachers of English said that the creation of SCSs and their expansion in rural areas in their region was positive because their students continued their studies in vocational Lyceums and that achieved the goal of involving people with LLL as a means of promoting social development.

T12 and T16 said that it was impressive that most students came to school everyday although they had work and families, to fulfil their desire to get educated. T14 elaborated on this thirst for learning and the consequences that SCS had:

> When a student comes and he does not know any English or Greek and he finishes school after two years and you can see that he can express himself and be more sociable, it is effective. Socialisation is number one. Self-confidence is developed, self-cognition, I know who I am, what I am doing, what I can do in my life and then he dreams for his own future, to continue his studies, to go to the vocational Lyceum, or even higher. Then definitely there is a positive result.

T21 added that those who had come did not want to finish. They had made friends, they had socialised, they have changed their characters and they acquired more self-confidence. T7 talked about students crying at the end of the school year because they did not want to finish school. T22 said that they wanted a SCS Lyceum which showed that they wanted to keep the spark of education alight.

7.7 Support for Second Chance School Policy

There was a unanimous agreement about the importance of the SCSs' establishment in Greece. The teachers believed it was a very important step for the education of a great number of people who did not have the chance to finish school, get back to school and take a school certificate because without a certificate you cannot do anything. T7 stated that it was very positive but it should have been started earlier. She added: "I hope it will continue and include other groups of people as well. When you exclude somebody from education, you exclude him from society, he won't have a future". T12 added that: "it is a way for some people to learn more. Illiteracy is a difficult thing". T19 said: "The chance was given to people. It made good to some, some continued, it opened them a door again". Some others said that the philosophy of SCSs should develop more in mainstream education. T17 emphasised "The fact that there are vocational counsellors and psychologists in each school, the fact that there are no exams and the fact that each teacher adjusts his own material, renders SCS an exemplary school".

On the other hand, there were some teachers who had doubts about the practice in SCSs. T16 said: "In theory, yes. However, in practice, things did not develop that way. There are lots of people really in need of a second chance, but it takes more than issuing a decree to proclaim the foundation of SCS. Just wondering, given that there was EU funding for that purpose, where did all that money go?" She drew implications about the organisational and practical level through the eyes of a practitioner. T14 added that:

> There should be a bigger connection (better communication) with the superior authorities: IDEKE and General Secretariat. The personnel changes, you know that very well ...there was no immediate contact, no immediate communication, there were delays, delays in employing temporary staff while SCSs functioned, students got disappointed, it had an impact on school, you know that.

T1 emphasised the changes that happened: "During the first years it was very good, we had seminars, we were trained, we met each other and exchanged suggestions, but in recent years funds are not given, seminars are not done, there is no scientific advisor. It depends on the

mood of each teacher to do things. The guidance we used to take was necessary. I would like SCSs to be at the old level".

T23 considered that there should be an upper age limit to enter in SCSs and after a certain age people should attend another structure of IDEKE without taking a certificate. She touched upon an issue that resulted from the vagueness of regulations and points that had not been stated clearly from the beginning. T10 who was in SCSs since 2003 and left in 2010 said:

> I loved SCSs because I created my own programme. That was a catalyst. In recent years we had no secretary at school. That was very important because we the teachers had to do a lot of extra work because the head teacher was alone and we had to share work. There was no solidarity on the part of the head teacher who was confused about what to do. School became very tiring for me. I experienced a lot of psychological pressure the last two years something that I did not have during the first year of setting up the school. It is not by chance that eight permanent teachers left altogether from our school. We all left for the same reason, because we did the work that somebody else should do. We were all for many years in the school and we proved that we could do much work but unfortunately we could not do all the work. That affected teaching as well. There was a negative climate pressing on our psychology that did not exist the previous years. The head teacher plays a very important role. Some see the teachers as their own employees but this isn't the case. The educators were not there to serve you but the public system.

7.8 Support for Teachers of English in Second Chance Schools

The provision of training for SCS teachers by IDEKE depended on the phases of establishment of SCSs all around Greece during 2000-2008. There were no initial training sessions. The teachers in SCSs of the same establishment phase were called to be trained in Athens or Thessaloniki. That meant that teachers who happened to be working in SCSs in that particular year had to participate in training regardless of whether they were permanent or temporary staff and without considering the needs of the teachers in a specific region. The training they attended for SCSs was the same for both groups (appendix I: topics of generic training). That resulted in some permanent teachers having attended SCS training because they stayed in schools and some temporary staff who were moving every year in different positions both inside and outside SCSs. For teachers of English, the training meetings

were mostly held as in-service training workshops from 2004 to 2008 when there was an English thematic advisor. Before or after that period training was more generic. Those temporary teachers of English who worked in SCSs during 2004-2008 had training but those before or after this period did not. The teachers' views are presented below differentiated as permanent or temporary staff because their mode of employment had an effect on how they saw their training and their work.

Some of the permanent detached teachers who had been trained stayed in the SCSs for five to seven years, like T10, T7, T14 and T2, while others returned to secondary education. These were the most experienced English teachers in SCSs in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. They said they had attended a number of training meetings that helped them because they shared experiences, material and new ways of teaching. Most of the permanent staff who came first in SCSs, such as T10, T7, T1, T14, T2, T13 and T15, had a special interest in the schools as an innovation and they wanted to experiment in this new, challenging school. They prepared by themselves, taking material from the internet, working during the weekend, at home using different books as sources. That material had to be adjusted depending on the level of the students. As T2 stated "you cannot get into SCSs if you haven't been well prepared". T14 said that both his personal interest in teaching and the training he had at SCS played their role but although training helped him he never felt satisfied and he always thought of something new. Preparation was a personal procedure worked through by each teacher individually being filtered by the knowledge, experience and the training they received in SCSs. T1 said that "Training was good, but you had to see your students and their interests". If teachers needed some help they discussed it with their English colleagues; that was a linking thread amongst all teachers, both permanent and temporary staff. T15 explained that "My background was not enough to face adult lessons because this school was special. I had experience with adults but I was trying to acclimatize to the new conditions. Here in SCSs I was temporary staff and I needed immediate help when the lessons started, before the seminars started."

Temporary staff had less training or no training at all depending on the period offered and their employment time. Those working after 2008 had no training. Three groups of temporary staff were noticed among those interviewed. The first group were those who had worked in SCSs in the region since the establishment of SCSs who had some training and were coming back every time they were employed in SCSs. Some got jobs in public education because of working in SCSs so they never returned to SCSs. They (T3, T9, T16) emphasized that there was no initial training and that in-service training was held after lessons had already started in SCSs. T13 and T8 were helped especially in projects. T8 said that "the first seminar was like preaching at a Sunday school to me but I prepared and studied by myself". On the other hand T19 said that "The training helped me but I consider that many things that were told were not realistic".

The second was a group of teachers who worked after 2008 and had no training and no experience in adult teaching. Seven teachers of English (T4, T5, T11, T12, T20, T21, T22) had absolutely no training in adult education so they drew help either from their experienced colleagues, their previous knowledge or teaching experience, adjusting material as they thought right. Some of them were helped by their headteachers in general issues of adult education.

The third group of teachers were those who worked after 2008 and who attended the new pilot form of general blended training of July 2010 (that GS4 presented) through a long distance programme of 25 hours for all disciplines of SCSs, not specifically designed for teachers of English. Only two of the temporary staff (T6 and T23) working in the region attended it while the other three were permanent (T14, T17, T18) and T8 who was not working in SCSs that year. T6 said she felt terrible because "I started working in March (2010) and there was a training seminar in July that was already too late. I came all of a sudden into a SCS without any material, without having any training, without knowing what to face, to teach adults. I did not know at first how to talk to them, some were quick-tempered; I didn't know how to stand in class and what my role should be. But in the process it came to me". T17 said "Training did not help me much in teaching in SCSs. I heard things I had already heard. It helped me but it should have been

done at the beginning of the year". T18 added that "I had training for the socially vulnerable groups and for the educators of SCSs but they happened at the end of the year. First they should be done before I get into the classroom. I got information from my friends in other SCSs and from my experience in this area. This area needs specific training". T23 agreed with the other teachers "It was generally about adults, their characteristics, theories about adults and we worked a project, each one in our own specialty, how we could contribute to knowledge". T14 elaborated on the differences of the old and new training. He said:

> Now in relation to the new training (2010), it was general training for educators in SCSs; there were enough known things; I went in case I heard something new but I did not ...no I had previously read some on my own. There is no comparison with the old training meetings of IDEKE. Here there was personal study and we were gathered all the disciplines together; it was not only for English teachers.

The most immediate support for temporary staff were the English teachers who were working in SCSs and had some experience, which was valued as something precious. T3 explained that "the first year while there were seminars they took place too late. That year I had a difficult time. But then I didn't need anything basic. I managed it myself and with the help of my colleagues". T4 and T5 elaborated on the peculiarity of SCSs as something new that rendered imperative the need for an exceptional preparation on the part of educators who needed knowledge and guidance. There was a problem caused by temporary staff employment and late in-service training sessions. There was no initial training for new staff and that caused a difficulty in preparation and in getting to know the new conditions, especially after 2008 when there was no training at all. The system relied on the good will of older staff to guide the new ones. T6 said "My colleague showed me some things. I started in March and there was a training seminar in July. That was already too late". T16 emphasized that she was not well prepared and that "Seminars took place long after the beginning of the school year and turned out to be a couple of hours of insufficient talks. Not even a chance of experiential knowledge and experiential learning methods". There was no provision of support other than the colleagues so most of the teachers depended on previous experience from private education, so their preparation and the material they created was based on that. T21 explained that he made material alone that was

based either on his notes or the internet because the books that were available did not consider adult students. The first year he considered it good to give a pack of photocopies from the beginning, but the second year he understood that students started getting anxious by looking at the volume of copies. They were afraid of too much material. T23 added that "I am quite well prepared. The material that you prepare needs a lot of work".

At the time of the interviews there was no support offered in SCSs and if teachers needed something they found the solution themselves or through peer collaboration and discussion.

7.9 Teachers' Views on the Training Sessions

Permanent staff commented on the positive and negative aspects of training during 2004-2008. They all emphasised the importance of the exchange of experience and sharing views among colleagues of different regions and at different levels, ages and nationalities of students. It was a different experience listening to the teacher who was teaching English inside the prisons, on the islands or in rural areas. The workshops were the most important part of training because there the teachers made presentations of their projects and cross curricular material. They said they were given many ideas there that could be applied and expanded. T2 said "I could never imagine that I could teach the seasons through music or by telling short stories about a tourist tour of England". T2 said that "those who tell theories should come in the teachers' classes and teach. This is something missing from training". She touched upon the issue of difference between theory and practice. The training sessions offered by IDEKE were separated in two parts: the generic lectures for all disciplines and the workshops for each discipline (as explained in chapter 5). In the previous section I have described the training on offer to permanent and temporary staff in different SCS phases. Temporary staff who were trained were not always employed the next year so training and employment did not go together. So both permanent and temporary teachers got in the system of SCSs every year and without attending any initial training, they attended whatever in-service training happened to be offered during the school year.

There was a distance between what the teachers needed and expected from the training sessions and what they got. Most interviewed teachers expected practical help. They expected to solve their real problems which concerned management, material creation, adult learning, and behaviour problems but they felt that they received no real help. T9, for example, explained:

> I would not say that the training sessions fulfilled my expectations because I expected the advisor to tell us of some teaching experience, to show us the organisation of a classroom, that is, to show us some audio-visual presentations and to discuss it. I would have liked to see more practical issues. I would like the advisor to come to our region and see the real working conditions and our process after the training, that is, a follow-up. I consider that there should be initial training and training during the lessons. I would like my advisor to be my supporter, to know that she will be there for me or I would like regional English advisors to exist.

T3 who had teaching experience in three different SCSs said that her teaching was not affected nor were her materials. She considered that some of the issues presented during the workshops by the English advisors were exaggerated because you could not teach theatre criticism in a multicultural class. That was a point that T7 and T14 agreed on. T7 commented that the poetry and literature that was offered during training were not appropriate for her school because the language level of students was poor. Nevertheless she believed that training seminars existed for teachers to participate in actively and that it was good that teachers had a voice. She added that materials such as leaflets with games, drawings of jobs, and thematic vocabulary were provided but they had to be adjusted because they did not fit the practice of SCSs. T14 emphasised that the training sessions were not very helpful:

> I don't want to speak negatively. I consider that some of the things that happened there as proposals could not be applied in SCSs. There were other reasons that they were suggested there; they wanted to justify something that is not related to SCS.

T19 agreed with the same point, he said that he enjoyed the workshops; they did interesting things but he did not know how much they could be applied in SCSs. He considered that many of the things that were told were not realistic. They were for an ideal class but not

applicable to real people. He enjoyed the fact that the trainer facilitated them to express their views and raise their voice.

T16 confirmed that:

> It gave us a chance of meeting our colleagues from other SCSs and pondering over implications, teaching and learning difficulties, arousing students' interest, and new sources and usage of material fit for the needs of our special group of students. Our trainer focused only on the use and creation of poetry in LT English in SCS, which seems to me interesting though, but of limited scope. Beyond poetry, what else? It is a bit one-sided approach excluding many other aspects of social discourse. Students did not even know how to look up an entry in a dictionary in their native language!

What predominated as the top benefit from the training sessions was the exchange of experience among colleagues, personal contact, talking about issues that were common and sharing material that they themselves created for their own classes. T14 said "I believe I gained more from my colleagues with exchange of experience, tactics and methods".T10 emphasised that the content of the training was mostly exchange of material; there was no specific topic. The training was not at all focused on confronting the problems with the students but only on the creation of material. T8 was really enthusiastic about the training she got. She explained that she was really helped by the seminars because she exchanged knowledge, experience, lesson plans and projects with colleagues. Her teaching was affected by team work which she used as well as projects and role-playing which was something new for her. Both T7 and T10 who had the longest experience in SCSs adapted the material in a multicultural target group by simplifying it. T3 referred to examples of material she remembered from those workshops "there was a project where students found English words in their city, brought them in the class, explained them and made a draft of their city. Another one was a dictionary the students had created for Muslims with English translated in Turkish". T10, the teacher with most experience during the decade explained:

> For me a big part of my problems was solved through colleagues. I communicated with e-mails with other SCSs. There was no help from the advisors. The training meetings had the same pattern every time. There was no plan, no speculation. We simply brought our projects and lesson plans and we talked on these. There was no correspondence between our questions and their answers. We presented and they listened to us. That was not

training on how to solve problems but to create material. It was good that our view was heard, but I would like to have their position, their view. I expected much more from trainings, their position on specific issues and the specificities of each SCS. These issues were never solved. If they had presented a model of teaching in another country, that would help. They were very theoretical lectures. They were not well organised. They should have shown us videos with micro-teaching to adults, which we could evaluate in classroom by comparing the positive and the negative points and conclude to the positive points and then have real teaching in our classes, in the school itself; to have a sample of teaching to students.

T10 described her experience in SCSs from beginning to end, including what made her leave:

At first the scientific advisor of the school did not know her role and what to do. Gradually she informed us, she showed projects. The regional advisor did not come very often; he covered a periphery, we did not have a big contact. When I needed advice I asked advice from the English advisors; I emphasised the peculiarity of the region with the Muslims and the immigrants but I got nothing. During the last three years there was no training. If you see the temporary staff, you see that they don't know and behave as if they teach children. We helped them but it was tiring and it needed time. I left SCSs after 7 years. I loved them too much. During the last years there was no secretary and we had to do a lot of work. We had the burden of the function of the school. The school became tiring to me.

T14 supported the above views and expressed his disappointment. He emphasised the practical difficulties teachers had travelling long distances from distant places of Greece to be for eight hours continuously trained in Athens:

I was asked about the needs of this region and about the minorities but nothing was done about it. There should be some specialist to give us guidelines and instructions. I never asked advice from the English advisors because I was trying...I considered after the meetings; I went there with the hope; I was disappointed from different things, from the fact that I never got answers. The training methods need improvement, to be shorter and be focused on the disciplines, on specific practical issues of disciplines and to be held regionally. It was tiring to travel from here to Athens or to Thessaloniki and to go immediately after tiredness and being on the road to present immediately at the...and it was a continuous series. This is anti-educational, isn't it? Where is this thing done?

T14 also elaborated on the regional issue and what help they got:

> The regional advisor knew our issues and he organised some lectures with Dr H. who is a Theologian and Turkologist at the Democretian University. He came and talked to us as an expert of the Turkish language; that is he explained to us similarities, differences and cultural differences. That was useful. He came and talked to us in a school meeting. So the regional advisor took care of this sector that we had problems. Although five years have passed from that training meeting, I clearly remember some things. It motivated my interest and the next year I started Turkish lessons after this meeting. He explained similarities, differences with the Turkish language, with the civilisation, that is he gave us methods on how to approach the students through their language to find common points that link us.

T15 believed that seminars were held just for the sake of putting them on. They were hastily and not well prepared. Rarely was something of benefit to her. They asked about her needs but EAs did nothing about it. She was not given any material to be helped about the particularity of the minority which affected her teaching of English. T16 commented that the training methods were limited. For a weekend they were adequate, but for a whole school year they were completely unsatisfactory. She had support from the scientific advisors only during the training session. T19 insisted that an initial training would be good if temporary staff were employed earlier. It would be useful "because they swim in deep water." Most temporary teachers who had no training (T4, T5, T11, T12, T20, T21 and T22) at all got help from their colleagues and the head teacher and would have liked practical things, material not theories; to be trained on learning difficulties and some ideas to influence their teaching of English.

The two temporary teachers who worked in 2010-2011 (T6 and 23) and attended the new blended programme of 25 hours for SCS teachers of all disciplines said that it was held too late. They considered it to be theory oriented and not practical for teaching English because of its general form. They would have liked to attend an initial programme specifically prepared for the English discipline and it would have been good to have had regular advice. They elaborated on the negative aspects of starting teaching in the middle of the year and not having proper material for adults. T14 commented on the delay of a new 100 hour programme about the socially vulnerable groups that was going to be held in October (2010). He had applied for this but it did not

happen. All tutors wanted meetings with experienced teachers of English in the field.

It was notable that the issue of teachers' of English good preparation in SCSs was left to the disposition of both temporary and permanent staff. The permanent teachers started returning back to their public education positions because their interest was worn out by the changes of the system itself and the loss of initial drive. The temporary staff, who got into those posts at the end of the decade, were not trained and they did not relate strongly to the schools because they knew that they would leave in a little while.

7.10 Teachers' Recommendations for Training

The permanent teachers who stayed for a long time in SCSs suggested different, blended forms of training. T10 recommended a blend of in-school, regional and local training. She said she would vote for a distance programme only if this was the only option. T14 considered that a blend of all types of initial, in-school, continuing, both face-to face and on-line training would be good for teachers of SCSs. T1, T7 and T13 suggested the continuation of the training they used to have by IDEKE but enriched either with a blend of long-distance and face-to-face meetings or with ways of coping with difficult psychological situations, new material, new ideas and teaching methods. As T7 observed there was a need for extra support in the SCSs as well as expertise in relation to cultural specificities. She insisted that the central leadership of IDEKE should leave SCSs locally to decide themselves on how they were going to cover the students' needs.

All the teachers valued the personal contact they had in previous training and they considered the existence of initial and in-service training essential. T2 said that in SCSs, teachers should gather together and cooperate. She added that what was important was the personal contact not only with the teachers but with the students too. The differences and the peculiarities of SCSs should be understood on all aspects. The duration or the frequency of suggested training differed from teacher to teacher from every two months to twice or three times a year. More than that, T7 suggested sabbaticals to attend schools in

other countries. T14 added that regional training was needed with the specificities that exist in each area. The teachers suggested that their needs could be identified through discussion with other teachers, problems could be recorded and solutions provided. Experienced teachers could present their work to new ones. On-line programmes would fit their needs when personal contact was not always feasible but web-training was considered cold and impersonal. All permanent staff declared themselves always available to take up high quality, substantial training.

All temporary teachers of English (T3, T8, T9, T16, T19) who attended training sessions in SCSs from 2004 to 2008 with EAs believed that there should definitely be an induction professional development programme for adult educators. They thought that this should take place before the beginning of the year and that they should be employed as permanent teaching staff, not hourly teachers that come and go every year. Their conditions of employment did not allow them to set long term goals. The training that was needed for SCSs was giving emphasis to approaching adults, the philosophy of SCSs, the difficulties of adult students and practical teaching ideas. T19 elaborated more on this issue: "There should be initial training and in nearby areas. The people who get trained should then be employed in SCSs. As an educator he would expect to be able to choose from a list of training programmes where he considered that his knowledge was weaker and give emphasis where he wanted to". He explicitly implied that people who were trained in SCSs were not employed and those who were employed were not always trained implying the existence of holes in the employment system where the criteria of employment might be adjacent to political parties and not to training. T3 commented that: "Training should be held at a regional level. Teachers need another type of information based on the peculiarities of each prefecture. The head teacher could help in that direction".

T16 suggested that: "Training should have focused on arousing teachers' emotional world and overcoming their fear towards something new and foreign in the first place. Then, it should have enlightened us on finding the stimuli needed to engage students in real life situations through specific guidance, and eventually make use of their elementary

knowledge to act upon". T6, T9 and T20 suggested having an advisor who would have immediate contact because it was unfamiliar for them to manage adults. She would like training to have an immediate relation with the needs of an adult and their practical use, the behaviour and confrontation of adults, teaching approaches for adult students, new technologies and the psychology of the students.

All the temporary teachers would have liked to have participated in more professional development and they were willing to find the time for it. They thought that, apart from initial training, there should be regular meetings at a regional level during the school year on the methods of teaching, teaching approaches and technology in classroom in the framework of SCSs by experienced advisors before getting into adult classes, as well as at regular meetings during the year to help them solve problems and offer practical solutions. They said that when they started in SCSs they had no idea what SCSs were. Online professional development options would be quite convenient but impersonal and everybody valued personal contact and interpersonal relationships. They said that the important thing was to meet other teachers, exchange views and experience. They would like to see real training, being mostly interested in becoming a better teacher and then in accreditation to work in the public educational system. They said they would like to attend teaching inside a classroom, with natural lessons and not theories. T6 said "We are full of theories". These points coincided with the permanent staff's views.

7.11 Theories of Literacy and Pedagogy used by the English Teachers

The 23 teachers had diverse philosophies of teaching and educational backgrounds. Fifteen of them had postgraduate qualifications in different fields but in relation to adult education there seemed to be an absence of a common theoretical basis in the field. A group of four teachers (T1, T10, T12 and T16) described themselves as dedicated, tireless, innovative, open-minded, interested in students, skilled to an adequate extent thanks to personal impetus but strict and consistent too. Another group of five teachers (T4, T8, T17, T22, T23) described themselves as communicative, not bossy, cooperative, relaxed, interested in making students feel comfortable, willing to listen and

learn. T8 said that "SCSs changed the philosophy I had". Another group of teachers (T3, T6, T7 and T9) described themselves as good people, understanding, friendly, fair and equal but both demanding and resilient. They presented themselves as coordinators, understanding the problems of adult needs, listening to them, respecting them and not pretending to be the authority in class. T7 said "I am Carl Rogers' 'good person'. I get in the other's shoes. If you respect the other, he will respect you". Another group of three teachers (T11, T14 and T21) presented themselves as patient, tolerant, not strict, respecting the students' interest and insisting on learning. T14, when asked to describe himself as a teacher, explained that "It is difficult to answer. The students could answer better. Something the students tell me, be patient. I am not satisfied with what exists, I reflect on what happened, if it was done well, if I made a mistake and how I can improve it". Another group of teachers (T2, T5, T13, T15, T18, T19 and T20) presented themselves as flexible, adjustable, resilient, cheerful, not strict, useful, approachable, modest, kind, sportsmanlike and hardworking. They wanted to gain the appreciation of students, to achieve an aim by teaching in an attractive way. So the general traits the teachers considered they possessed were innovation, communication, being good and fair, patience, flexibility and keeping good relations with the students so that to achieve the learning goals.

The teachers reported that they had different theories and approaches to the teaching of English. A group of seven teachers (T1, T2, T5, T7, T9, T12 and T16) wanted to make the students love the language, to stimulate their desire to learn, to transmit the special flavour, the mentality and the culture of the English language; to understand that through other languages we learn civilizations, another way of thinking and to respect the others as different; and finally help them find its usefulness in real life, to see it as a passage to their future. T1 emphasised getting adapted to the students' needs, presenting innovative ideas and working through the classical group-cooperative approach. T7 elaborated on the notion of autonomy in learning; her general approach was to try to make students love education, to want it by themselves. She considered voluntary participation important and always tried to show them that they knew many English words from advertisements. Her theory was to extract what each one wanted and then to teach it in an experiential way. She did not press those who

were ashamed. T9's general approach was the use of communicative methods and from each theory she took some things trying to balance her teaching between teacher-centred and student-centred theory. T2 tried to open their mind, to get them out of their limits accepting different ways of learning following simplification of materials. T16 tried to relate everyday activities to teaching English i.e. when housewives read the label of a new blouse and understood its composition and treatment in washing.

Another group of twelve teachers (T3, T4, T6, T8, T13, T14, T18, T19, T20, T21, T22, T23) placed an emphasis on the communicative approach, not grammar so much and syntactical errors but to learn to be able to communicate in everyday situations and to see English as a means of communication. Most of the teachers followed no specific theory but what was filtered through their personal experience. T13 adapted her programme according to the adults' needs. T14 considered mutual trust important and he valued communication rather than accuracy, but he did not follow any precise theory of adult education. T4 used the communicative method and suggestopedia[1] (Banerjee, 1997). She always kept in mind the expression: "Show me and I forget, teach me and I remember, involve me and I know". T8 said that it was important first to gain the adult students' trust and then to set her aims. T18 explained that she did not consider only English communication but also cultural differences. T21 stated that adults need English to talk and he followed experiential learning together with the communicative approach, very little grammar and used diagrams and pictures because they were very helpful to adults. T22 tried to waken the students' interest and gain at least a conversation. T23 followed the communicative method and the theory of multiple intelligences.

Some other teachers (T10, T11, T15 and T17) emphasised other notions of teaching. T10 wanted to cover the rudimentary needs of society and to socialize adult students. Her approach was through team-work to make students learn and get involved more easily. With

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[1] Suggestopedia is the term used for a teaching method, developed by Georgi Lozanov, in which relaxed concentration is combined with synchronized music and rhythmic presentation to tap the unconscious reserves of the mind and thereby accelerate learning. Richards claims that students can learn a language approximately three to five times as quickly as through conventional teaching methods. (Richards et al., (2001:100-108)

adults she used no specific theory but bits and pieces that had an effect. T11 and T15 felt that the motivation of students was vital. T17 adapted according to the class and she said that humour helped.

Seven teachers (T1, T2, T12, T13, T15, T17, T20) did not give an answer to the question: what have you read that helped you develop as a teacher. Three teachers (T7, T11 and T21) referred to specific writers they had read and were affected by: T7 said "Peter Jarvis is amazing, he affected me. At the age of 70 having lived so many experiences in so many different places under such different conditions he had such a fresh and young view of adult education". T11 had read a book about learning English by a foreign writer, Lynne Cameron. T21 was affected by an article on the internet that described what happens with adults but he could not remember the name of the writer. He was interested in learning difficulties and read books by Livaniou. Two teachers (T23 and T16) referred to an ELT Journal and teaching resources involving practical advice, not wide ranging universal theories in ELT. Only one teacher (T3) referred to having read the curriculum guidelines of SCSs and portfolios with material while T10 read about the negotiated syllabus which would be taught by all teachers in SCSs. T5 was affected by the Common European framework. Some teachers (T4) referred vaguely to modern linguists who approached language through a different spectrum or to the fact that it was their (T6) everyday experience and practice that made them better, not theory.

Three other teachers (T8, T9 and T14) elaborated on their work in SCSs such as projects, adult students having difficulty in assimilating things, wanting actions and rules and feeling ashamed if they made a mistake. T14 explained that he had read plenty of articles but there was not something specific that affected him. He said "I have no rules to say I will be this or that way. I am trying to adapt to the conditions. The students are not all the same. Somebody might need something different, something else but the most important is the students to trust you and me to be really interested". He was affected by the human factors of his students' life. "You go home and you think about what he told you, what you said, what you did, you think that another (student) has a problem with his child, it is ill and they are students, they are not relatives. Your life is affected".

It was notable that three teachers (T18, T19 and T22) commented on their studies at University. T18 was affected by the manner of her professors at University who showed her the way to approach students. T22 explained that she did not look for any theory and that the university did not cover the SCS kind of schools. She felt that teachers should have experience with adults to be able to work in SCSs. Theory helped, but experience counted more for her. T19 commented that after finishing at Aristotle University there were a lot of things that he did not know and he learnt them in his postgraduate degree. There he was compelled to teach and that inspired him to be a better teacher.

A great variety of responses were given in relation to innovative steps teachers would take in SCSs. Their answers were drawn from their personal background, where they were teaching at the time of responding and how involved they wanted to be. Six teachers (T1, T16, T18, T13, T19 and T8) had nothing specific in mind to suggest: they were satisfied with what they did, and they would not change anything. Two teachers (T17and T22) would use computers and the projector while only T15 would use more music and art so that the lesson would become more interesting. Three teachers (T2, T7 and T11) would continue using projects, either mini-projects, such as an anti-smoking campaign, or cross-curricular themes, explored via history and archaeology.

Some teachers (T3, T9, T14, T5 and T10) gave priority to the cultural framework of English, experience in England and e-twinning European projects to encourage communication with a foreign country. This gave students from Thrace the opportunity to talk in real English, in real conditions.

Another group of teachers (T4, T6, T12, T20, T21, T23) would try total physical response[2], suggestopedia, audio-visual activities, pictures and revision, role-playing, sketches with real dialogues, reducing grammar and the material to be taught to a great degree and leaving students time to read, to learn. They wanted to experiment with new methods.

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[2] A method developed to aid learning second languages. The method relies on the assumption that when learning a second or additional language, language is internalized through a process of codebreaking similar to first language development and that the process allows for a long period of listening and developing comprehension prior to production. Students respond to commands that require physical movement. (Richards et al., (2001:73 -81)

When asked about critical literacy[3] it was notable that fifteen out of twenty-three teachers (T1, T2, T4, T5, T6, T8, T11, T12, T13, T15, T17, T19, T20, T22 and T23) did not know what it was or had never heard of it, or had heard it but could not remember it. T8, a fervent fan of the training, said "I don't remember that from the seminars".

7.12 Teachers' own Future in Second Chance Schools

Seven teachers (T1, T5, T10, T13, T16, T19 and T22,) had already left SCSs either because they had been temporary staff who became permanent or had been permanent detached staff who went back to their original position. Employment conditions had a decisive role in the SCSs. T16 explained that "I have already been out of SCS as it did not guarantee having work all the time. I am currently working as an EL teacher in secondary education filling a permanent post". T22 spoke of the difficulties of the SCSs' timetables. T19 said "Even if I want it greatly, I will have to be paid per hour".

Some people enjoyed adult education while others not. T10 elaborated on the reasons for being out of SCSs, drawing implications about the function of the schools through the decade as it was referred above in the teachers' views section 6.3.1.

Although some teachers (T2, T6, and T20) were still working in SCSs they expressed their preference to work in primary or secondary education or return to it. T6 explained that she stayed in SCSs:

> Clearly I work only for accredited service in the public system. I prefer teaching in primary and secondary

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[3] The philosophy behind critical literacy is that it is necessary to learn how language works in order to be a more skilled user of language in terms of both comprehending and composing. Critical literacy encourages readers to actively analyze texts and offers strategies for what proponents describe as uncovering underlying messages. All different theoretical perspectives on critical literacy share the basic premise that literacy requires the literate consumers of text to adopt a critical and questioning approach. The practice is not simply a means of attaining literacy in the sense of improving the ability to decode words, syntax, etc. In fact, the ability to read words on paper is not necessarily required in order to engage in a critical discussion of "texts," which can include television, movies, web pages, music, art and other means of expression. The important thing is being able to have a discussion with others about the different meanings a text might have and teaching the potentially critically literate learner how to think flexibly about it (Anstey, et al., (2006); VanDuzer, et al.,(2003). Critical literacy is the "deepest level of literacy" there is (Molden, 2007). It is a way in which analysing and interacting with texts occurs where one challenges its being by questioning its purpose, its voice (who is included/ excluded) and its biases. Critical literacy is the act of thinking, reflecting and disputing the information one is receiving.

education because here the situation is not organised and that bothers me. Temporary staff come here because they need to work not because they like it. I would like the employment of teachers to be done on time. When lessons start in December, this isn't effective.

On the other hand twelve teachers (T3, T4, T7, T8, T9, T11, T12, T14, T17, T18, T21, and T23) enjoyed working with adults in SCSs and they wanted to stay on. They loved their schools, the flexibility, not having an obligatory book; they said it was ideal. T3 explained that it was much more interesting than any other structure: "Adults know why they come to school; you can communicate with them without being in the need to impose yourself as it happens with children. You feel that you make someone love school although some time ago he dropped out or he didn't love it". T14 expressed his worries about 2013 when ESPA funding was going to end and the SCSs started in 2010 were getting gradually shrunk, cutting off secretaries, regional advisors, scientific advisors of each subject, keeping one teacher of each discipline in each school.

In summary

In summary, teachers of English started teaching in SCSs enthused by the philosophy of an educational innovation. They worked hard but started getting disappointed when training sessions did not respond to their actual needs in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. That led to a dead end when no training was provided and the system started shrinking for political and functional reasons.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE POLICY IMPACT OF SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLS

Introduction

In this chapter the need for reform of the policy of SCSs, its operationalisation and development in the decade 2000-2010, is analysed. The analysis includes sections of policy development at the macro level: how it was understood in the Greek context versus the European context. The development of this policy of remediating disenfranchised people back into education is analysed and separated into four periods of action at the national level. At the micro level the individual teachers' of English experience, theories in SCSs, training, current professional support and their de-professionalisation is discussed.

8.1 The Macro and Micro Level Policy

It is notable, following Ball's (2008) theory that policies are contested, interpreted and enacted in various arenas of practice. The rhetoric's, texts and meanings of policy makers do not always translate directly into institutional practices because they are inflected, mediated, resisted and misunderstood or in some cases simply prove unworkable. It is not good to overestimate the logical rationality of policy because "policy strategies, Acts, guidelines and initiatives are often messy, contradictory, confused and unclear" while educational policy and educational reform are the same thing; "in a sense educational policy has always been about reform, about doing things differently, about change and improvement" while "policy is an enlightenment concept, it is about progress, it is about moving from the inadequacies of the present to some future state of perfection where everything works well and works as it should" (Ball, 2008:7). Taylor et al. (1997:4-5) state that:

> Educational policies do not emerge in a vacuum but reflect compromises between competing interests expressed by the dominant interests of capitalism on the one hand and the oppositional interests of various social movements on the other. While it is true that policies are responses to particular social changes, it is also the case

that these changes may themselves be represented in a variety of different ways, and accorded contrasting significance. Recent educational policy initiatives may thus be viewed as responses to the struggle over particular constructions of social, political, economic and cultural changes.

The Greek case of SCS policy is an example of this confusion and messiness, of borrowed policy working under the pretence of improving society and the adult educational system. Having borrowed the big policy on social exclusion from the USA, Europe created another big policy on social exclusion and dropping out with lesser policies on promoting employability, social cohesion and active citizenship that were borrowed by each member state. The conditions were lucrative for adopting such a policy in Greece but they were understood and implemented in a different way according to which political party was in office.

8.2 Effects of Globalisation and Europeanisation on Second Chance School Policy

The discourses of Europeanisation and the knowledge economy, combined with a realization that the economy was beginning to get into trouble had political traction in Greece. The analysis was made that in order to work in a knowledge economy workers' skills had to be upgraded while the older folk education was more about the hands and the distinctiveness of Greece, of Greek heritage skills. GS1 considered that "this was a necessary transformation of folk education that was in force at the time to more organised forms of adult education. This transformation should have a focus on the development of learning throughout life and in every span of life through more organised [new] forms of adult education" (GS1).

The impact of globalization works because there is a transfer of knowledge and money through new technologies. It is easier to travel; it is easier to communicate in a global economy where ideas move, money moves, resources move so people have got to try to bring things into harmony and their thinking influences one another more than older times when it was difficult to have these communications. Greece, being affected by the notion of globalization, cannot have people who do not speak their mother tongue and who have not done enough schooling and the right qualifications to cope with the

knowledge economy. Without more schooling, they were threatened to be the outcasts of modern society. That explains the urgent need that the key players in the SCSs expressed for conforming to the European trends. The key players were quite explicit about wishing to be part of European philosophy.

Greece is not exempt from the pressures of globalisation and Europeanization, but it mediates those pressures in its own way, balancing them differently against other priorities and its own social and economic problems. This point explains the rhythm and pace of assimilation of policies under the regimes of the first two General Secretaries, the key players in adult education in Greece. They both agreed that LLL was an important strategic imperative that they had to develop. GS1 in particular was motivated to develop the SCSs based on an urgent desire to develop Life-Long Learning in Greece as it happened in Europe. GS1 said that he felt that the SCS policy had been successful because it responded to a social need and because of the method they used to establish the schools (GS1). He realized that as a general secretary of adult education he had to follow the global, and more specifically, the European trends of reforming education by including the socially excluded into mainstream education, something that had not been declared as a need in the Greek society but one which coincided with the long-term needs of the Greek society. The "basic issue" for GS1, as stated, was "how to bring [those excluded from education] back to education. That is the educational meaning [significance]" (GS1). GS1 was the first one to implement the SCSs policy in Greece and on the one hand he had to respond to external reform imperatives of bringing drop outs back into mainstream education and on the other to adapt the new SCS policy to the national adult system. GS1 was caught up in a tension of trying to bring rapid changes in adult education as in Europe and not being able to get rid of older elements in the national system that had the potential to hold the innovation back. This integrationist, evolutionary view is articulated in the following quotation; in GS1's view SCSs were based on:

> an improvement notion. I would also say that SCSs derived some elements....from Folk Education....we'll keep them and we'll use them (5.1).

In his interview, it was indicated that he was locked in a struggle between the need to Europeanize adult education and bring in changes and the national forces that kept him back in one sense but could also be considered successful in other senses. As Taylor et al. (1997:174) point out "Progressive change tends to be achieved in an incremental fashion and is always open to challenge; two steps forward and one step back perhaps best encapsulates the reality".

8.3 The Need for reform at the macro level

As was seen in the historical overview of adult education in Greece in chapter (2.1) there was a delay in developing adult education in Greece due to the Second World War and the Civil War that shattered the country and left little room for development. Wars, political upheavals, political changes and adverse economic conditions had their consequences on educational reforms which were 'closely linked to socio-economic, ideological and political factors' and created a perceived 'need to induct people into a homogeneous citizenry with appropriate skills to enhance productivity and to foster patriotic sentiments' (Tsamadias & Arvanitis, 2008:125). From the first efforts in 1929, with the night schools of the government of Eleftherios Venizelos, up to 1954 with the Central Committee's actions for combating illiteracy, the development of adult education was slow and what was offered 'lacked range, although the need for education and training was already great, mainly because of the inability of formal education to respond to the demands of the labour market, the mass participation of women in the workforce, the presence of socially excluded groups and the increasing unemployment rate of younger people' (Vergidis, 1999:27-29). From 1965, with the embryonic activities of the Night Primary Schools of the Popular Education Central and Prefectural Committees, up to the 1980s, with an extension to a few general content training activities, no real development was noticed. Kokkos (2008a:3), contrasting adult education in Greece to what happened in other countries in Europe, said that it 'was not an institution inscribed in the collective culture and social practice of its citizens'. In section 2.1 the explicit reasons for this underdevelopment are explained by Vergidis (2005), Karalis (2006), Kokkos, (2005, 2008b) but not the most serious one: the lack of funding and

infrastructure which is necessary for development. The country's historical background, the wars and poverty left it devoid of funding and infrastructures that were needed urgently as well as the time to heal its wounds.

When Greece became a member of the European Economic Community in 1981 and major funds came from the European Social Fund (ESF), adult programmes were offered and supported especially from 1989-1993 through the First Community Support Framework. Funding was a great relief, like transfusing blood to a patient to overcome his illness. There was a radical reorientation of the Popular Education institution and its objectives at central and regional level. Posts for special associates were created to staff the Popular Education Boards of Popular Education Prefectural Committees, as explained in chapter 2.1, but 'with no proper regulatory framework' (Vergidis & Prokou, 2005). The organization of socio-cultural activities aimed at the personal development of the citizens and the creative use of leisure time (General Secretariat of Popular Education, 1985) with 350 Education Centres all over Greece (Karalis and Vergidis, 2004:180) and a rapid increase in the number of participants in Popular Education from 69,594 in 1980 to 213,000 in 1985. People needed to be educated, to find a job and there was participation. However, the disfunctionality of the public sector and traditionally teacher-centred mentality during the 1980s, as well as a very strong trend of reproducing the traditional school system model and a lack of connection between training and the local social and economic problems, caused delays, as was pointed out by Kokkos (2008a) and Vergidis et al, (1983). There was no real attempt to meet social and employment needs, and no research done to develop an in-depth understanding of how to improve the system, which relied upon a deficient public system and non-specialists in the field of adult education. Popular Education claimed to incorporate the spirit of social change theory, diffusing Paulo Freire's ideas and critical theories after his visit to Greece, but adult education remained fundamentally concerned with maintaining cultural heritage and personal development, resisting calls for vocational and basic educational training. This came about two decades later.

The critical literature on this period of Greek adult education, from 1986-2000 characterises the period as infertile (Karalis & Vergidis,

2004, 2006; Efstratoglou, 2004; Palios (ed.), 2003; Kokkos, 2005). In the 1990s, however, Vocational Education and Training became a top political priority. This was due to the changes in the global labour market and the co-financing capacity of the European Social Fund for programmes addressed to young people and adults. These programmes concerned the enhancement of employability, competitiveness, social cohesion and active participation in civic life. In the context of these new guidelines, the Popular Education Boards were abolished in Greece and there was a shift of policy (1994-1999) towards the global labour market, employability and social cohesion supported by the second Community Support Framework. Within this framework the SCSs were instituted in 1997 and became operational in 2000.

In my view, the need for reform actually came as a result of the growth of the knowledge economy and the impact of globalisation or what Ball (2008) in 3.2 calls convergence towards 'global policyspeak'. The SCSs policy seemed to have come from the social problems of social inclusion, unemployment, including the people who needed a second chance, who dropped out, that existed not only in Greece but all around the world. Stepping back a bit in Greek history to consider where adult education was previously, it is realized that it has not been about remediation, but about maintaining cultural heritage. Moreover, there were changing economic patterns in Greece because of changing patterns of migration and new languages coming in from other parts of Europe. The new discourse about SCSs, about dropouts who have not finished school, the problems of the economy, and the view of some people as deficient, enters the political field at a point when European funding was ready to be given for reforming adult education systems at the end of 1990s. The immigration patterns into Greece have to do with the economic problem, the changing economy. At the same time GS1 considered that this transformation of folk education into adult education was "not easy because of [folk education's] deep roots in education" (GS1). He felt that there was resistance to changes he wanted to initiate and it was hard for him. On the one hand he believed that there was a need in the Greek community to develop social skills and the level of education through the SCSs; at the same time he believed that there was a need to transform folk education into adult education and try and follow the European trends which were fast and

pressing. He emphasized this sense of pace and pressure: "It was all too pressed. In the other European countries there is support in all of this" (GS1). It is exactly what Lingard and Rizvi (2000: 2100) supported in 3.2 that globalisation does not impinge on all nation-states and at all times in exactly the same way and domestic capacities differ. GS1 said that it was important that the SCSs were connected to local government and seen as part of the local community rather than as initiatives that were managed by national government. "The municipalities want most of them [the changes] but we are not yet... [prepared or ready for the transformation] (unfinished)" (GS1). In his view, all the actions had to be done fast to catch up with the European trends.

8.4 LLL and the General Secretaries of Adult Education

In the EU member states, education policy has shifted towards LLL and an explicit connection between education and employment. Ball (2008:3) says that for teachers and FE lecturers this means that "policy is currently experienced as a constant flood of new requirements, changes, exhortations, responsibilities and expectations". Teachers in adult education are in the eye of the cyclone. According to Edwards (2002) LLL experienced a 'welter of policy' within a broader framework of social care and increased schooling that caused changes in reworking policy towards traditional time and space configuration of schooling. This affects the ecology of education, what it looks like, when and where it happens, and the production of new learners.

The 1995 White Paper *Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (CEC, 1995), played an important role in establishing LLL as a guiding strategy in European policies (Hake, 1999:13, Field, 2000:7) as it was explained in section 2.2. Education and training were defined as the main components of the individual's identity, social progress and personal growth and Life-Long Learning constituted a guiding principle of educational policy in Greece and a key element of European Employment Strategy (EES). It allowed for ongoing update of knowledge, improvement of qualifications and adjustment to the continuously evolving labour market requirements. The *Memorandum on Life-Long Learning* (CEC, 2000) provided a structured framework

that contains six Key Messages and it is considered an important EU's convergence policy tool for implementing structures, mechanisms and processes leading to similar development of the EU member states' education and training systems (Lisbon European Council, 2000:37).

LLL re-emerged in the political agendas in the 1990s with a broad international focus and a shift towards more utilitarian and economic objectives (Hyland, 1999:11) acquiring the form of a powerful rhetorical instrument. All four General Secretaries agreed on the vital role of Life-Long Learning in Greek society but with slight differentiations of focus of attention. In his interview, the first General Secretary maintained that in 2000 "adult education in Greece needed improvement" and he considered that "under the specific conditions this improvement should take into consideration the developments that were happening in adult education in the whole European and Global space [i.e. throughout Europe and around the world]" (GS1). GS1 maintained that there was a need for a transformation of 'adult education' to 'Life-Long Learning'; he defined the latter as a change which focused on the development of learning throughout life (GS1).

While GS1 was opting for Life-Long Learning development by focussing specifically on the establishment of SCSs, GS2 expressed the view that:

> Through watching the subjects of education...I had ascertained that the country had a deficit in ...the field of Life-Long learning...a strategic field...a potential pendulum of economic growth, employment and social cohesion.....That's why I decided...to try to make headway (5.1).

GS2's focus was on the adult education policy which was well-established in Europe. He pointed out that the idea of SCSs, although new to Greece, was not new in itself, as it came from Europe. His thinking was more directly related to the wider European project. While GS1 could lay claim to being the initiator of the field of adult education in its new European form with the establishment of SCSs in Greece, GS2 added that, towards the end of his tenure, he worked towards the unification of adult education with initial vocational training. He declared in his interview:

> we were proceeding to the consolidation of the field of lifelong learning...integrated adult education towards the end of the 2008... and this step is very positive (5.1).

He also added that he achieved the establishment of SCSs "through the cooperation of all the people who worked for SCSs" (GS2) and "through political steps of developing Life-Long Learning" (GS2). He claimed his success was due to his political decisions in combination with the cooperation of all the teachers in SCSs.

GS3, like GS2, maintained that "Life-Long Learning for me is the greatest tool that exists at this moment" and he added that:

> I must admit that it [Life-Long Learning in Greece] was not the best...because...it is considered to be an education for the people who had never had any training. For me, Life-Long Learning is a way...to upgrade continuously his knowledge, his training, and his skills. (5.1).

GS3 believed that "we must make this diffusion of information and education all around Greece. The sense of Life-Long Learning is to go to the place of every human being, to train him, not for him to come in Athens or Thessaloniki" (GS3). GS3's view was, therefore, of Life-Long Learning in a broader sense: of education that would cover the needs not only of those who dropped out of education but of other sections of the population as well.

GS4 said that "Life-Long Learning is a priority that is not affected by the financial situation... the general population must be involved in this way of learning, this philosophy of learning. This is a priority" (GS4). He considered that the time was right for these changes, in that there is a "tendency towards change in the Greek culture, for psychological and economic reasons" (GS4). GS4, like some of his predecessors, argued that in Greece Life-Long Learning did not have the position it deserved. He stated the Greek society did not know what LLL was about; he considered that "the programmes that were held and are still held perhaps, to a certain extent, have been relatively obsolete". He suggested that LLL was not connected to the needs of the Greek economy: "The [programmes] were not what the Greek economy needs, what the Greek society needs mainly under these conditions [the economic crisis]" (GS4). GS4 explained that LLL is not yet "complete" in relation to the wider European definition of education that starts from the kindergarten and finishes when the person finishes. He stressed that "the new presidential decree" [i.e. **law 3879/2010: The new Life-Long Learning Policy**] includes all aspects of

learning which had previously been "left outside", including vocational training and informal learning. GS4 was referring to the new Life-Long Learning policy that had been finalised in June 2010 (appendix IV).

All four GSs agreed on the importance of LLL and following their individual political, educational paths talked about a different dimension of it.

8.5 Aim of Second Chance Schools

In some sources, the aim of SCSs is defined more specifically in relation to solving 'the problem of school drop-out' (Koutrouba, 2005; Paleokrassas, Rousseas & Vretakou, 2001; Teperoglou, Maratou-Alipranti & Tsiganou, 1999; Papatheofilou, 1998; Paleocrassas, Rousseas & Vretakou,V. 1997; Vergidis, 1995; Papatheofilou, Iakovou, Soukou, Koutsogiannis, & Kozadinos, 1994; Lariou-Drettaki, 1993). The aim here was to integrate individuals at risk of social exclusion and marginalisation into the social, financial and professional structures of society (http://www.ekep.gr/Education/deuteris.asp;). The aims of social policy and the aims of the new, innovative SCS institutions were interrelated.

The issue of school drop-out intersected with concerns about high levels of illiteracy in Greece (2.1). Greece holds the 35th position worldwide in terms of population literacy levels with a formal 3.6 percentage of the Greek population considered illiterate. Informally the figure is calculated around to 12 to 13 percent (National Statistical Service (www.doe.gr). The 2001 Greek Census data indicates that almost 1 million individuals of the nearly 10.9 million of population have not completed compulsory education mostly in rural agricultural regions of the country. This is across all ages covering minority groups such as Roma, repatriates, immigrants and members of the Muslim minority. Dimitrakopoulos (2004:35) insisted that despite lower secondary education being compulsory, a large number of ethnic Greek and foreign immigrant pupils do not seem to enrol, and the Hellenic Pedagogical Institute found that there was a 6.09% of dropout rate in the Gymnasium (www.ypepth.gr/docs/4_1_07_sxoliki_diarroi.doc).

Another important political issue was unemployment (OECD factbook 2008). Although "the relationship between unemployment and

educational qualifications appears to be non-linear, irrespective of age or sex", Tsakoglou and Choleza (2005) found that unemployment rates were high among secondary education graduates (9.9%) because the skills offered in the general strand of upper secondary education do not meet the needs of the Greek labour market and the apprenticeship system does not exist in Greece. During the economic crisis of 2009, unemployment exploded, with the highest levels of 18.2% reported in October 2011 and exceeding 20% at the time of writing (March 2012). This creates a new set of problems in thinking about 'Second Chance' education. How is it possible that a SCS can solve the unemployment problems of people who are going to finish basic secondary education when university graduates cannot find a job? How can these people improve their education when they have not got a job to support themselves and their families, how can they continue studying?

Displaced peoples were migrating to Greece from other countries in the 1990s (section 2.1); people started emigrating during the economic crisis after 2009. People migrate to countries where the landscape is lucrative, where the conditions seem to be conducive to them to be able to settle down and get employed. In the particular case of SCSs, the policy needed to think about how the bottom part of the society in educational terms would be up skilled and get harmonized to the global force of the knowledge economy. If there is a disenfranchised lower class this might cause unrest in society. If people are not properly educated, the country cannot participate in the economy because it has to become more of a knowledge economy and there is no more skilled labour with the hands.

The SCS policy was the biggest part of the policy shift from folk education to adult education but the first Training Organiser, an academic who was in the project team that set up SCSs explained that:

> SCSs abroad have no relationship to SCSs in Greece. SCSs abroad have been created for the real reason that they were established to hit sub-training up to the age of 35 and we the Greeks had 65 year old, 55 year old people etc... some people shouldn't be at SCSs. The creator (Cresson) when she made the schools and she introduced them, they were for young people from the age of eighteen to thirty-five, who had more years in front of them to work as undereducated to confront unemployment as well as possible and we circumvented

> (outwitted) it and substantially from what I am learning we haven't caught the common target, that is young people. It was an easy thing in each area to get old people.

When asked if the final numbers of people trained matched the target numbers AD2, the director of the project team of SCSs during the whole decade, stated:

> I don't think so. When these schools started at the beginning of the decade we were saying that these schools will achieve their aim when they close. When they stop existing as SCSs because that means that they would have completed their aims. Even now we are seeing that the target group is descending at age, while we started with 50-45, now it goes much lower, which means that there is dropping out. Unfortunately in 2010 there is still dropping out of school while the number of students neither increases nor decreases. It depends, in some schools more in some less but it approximately remains the same. There are schools that have two groups, one in the first level and one in the second, there are schools where they search for students, so the political leadership should just take all these down and decide which ones to keep and which ones to close.

There had been a shift in the age of adult students who attended SCSs but the original aim of fighting school dropout was not achieved a decade later, according to the data. Moreover AD2, who was involved with SCSs from the outset, explained that:

> Up to 2005 I had attended all the meetings in Europe, a few up to 2007 and none afterwards because there was no more funding. I don't think in Europe…[unfinished]. Our SCSs had a differentiation because they gave the title of a school certificate and gave more emphasis on education and not on vocational training. Marseilles and Cologne combined these two at the beginning. In the process though, everybody had a turn towards education. Greece's SCS was the only institutionalised school within adult education with old students at age [above 18 and with no upper limit]. The target group in Europe was 16-22 so the educators were mostly trainers of, e.g. furniture making, cooking, and hairdressing; so they made training lessons and got certification. It cannot be compared with the Greek schools. They are dissimilar things.

There are various commentaries on the issue of what the SCS students actually wanted from their studies. Adamidis (2005:8) stated that many adult students in SCSs were successful professionals but they had not completed their basic education and

the lack of the high school certificate was an obstacle to their professional development or improving their financial status. According to Anagnostopoulou (2004) and Vergidis (2004) in Greece the majority of adult students in SCSs were neither young nor considered that their financial level belonged neither to the 'low category', nor were they socially excluded in the meaning that this term was used in the other European countries. What they wanted from attending SCSs was knowledge, education and continuation of their studies and implicitly 'the paper' [meaning the certificate] which is part of a dominant Greek ideology for all levels of education; quite surprisingly, their wish for integration in the labour market was second. That point accords with Vekris's view (2003) that Greek SCSs were differentiated from European ones in relation to their philosophy, the principles and the composition of the student group, which included older people who were unskilled and unemployed. The first students in SCSs helped define the educational aim: gravity was not given to vocational training and employment but to general (mainstream) education (Marmarinos and Verveniotou, 2007:107).

From these observations, it becomes obvious that borrowed policy needs to be reworked at many levels in each country. Giddens (1996: 367-8) argues that: "globalisation invades local contexts it does not destroy them; on the contrary, new forms of local cultural identity and self-expression are causally bound up with globalising processes". This is what Robertson (1995:100) called 'glocalisation', that is the simultaneity and the interpenetration of the global and the local. Ball (1994) accepts that: "national policy making is inevitably a process of bricolage, a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere". Even at the national level, it is affected not only by the policy makers but by the people who support the policy makers or the government. It is clear that policy is filtered at each level before it is implemented. This is supported by Taylor et al. (1997:15-17) as referred to in 3.2. Policy is multi-dimensional, value-ladden and never straightforward.

Applied to Greece, it could be argued that a social separation of the population was created: the educated ones with a tendency to modernise and be part of the European philosophy of the knowledge

economy and the unskilled, uneducated part of the population including immigrants, drop-outs, manual workers, rural and distant places, people who deal with the land, who had to catch up not only with the previous missing gap of knowledge but with the innovations imposed by a new era. Some of them were willing to catch up with the innovation of SCSs because it was the first time in Greek history that the country cared about them phenomenologically, so long-hidden wishes to be educated emerged, but there was a long road to travel. But it was questionable whether the institution of the Second Chance Schools had actually been created for them or whether it was another way for the country to absorb funds. Whatever the actual motivation, people responded to SCSs because there was a great need for education and up-skilling. However ten years after the first SCSs were created, it seems to me that the social division - the dichotomy - has become more intense and education seems to be a privilege of the upper class after the economic crisis of 2009.

8.6 The importance of European Funding

Arguments about inequality of educational opportunities, deriving from social inequalities, provided the rationale behind the educational reforms supported by the Community Support Framework. The European Union emerged as the main financing power affecting the development of new educational policies in Greece. So, during the decade of 2000-2010 there were shifts of priorities in adult education policy as Greece, previously a relatively homogeneous society in terms of population, was transformed from an emigration country to a reception country (as referred to in 2.1), particularly after experiencing the need to accommodate 600,000 immigrants after the economic crisis in the Balkan countries (Kiprianos et al 2003; Skourtou et al 2004) in the 1990s. The underlying assumption was that newcomers should be given the educational opportunities to adjust to mainstream Greek society (Siassiakos, Theodosopoulou and Tsamadias, 2007:8). The new reality required urgent political decisions to confront the economic, social and educational problems that arose (Persianis, 1998; Pigiaki, 1999; Spinthourakis & Katsillis, 2003; Gouvias, 2007). Political decisions were based on the expectation of European funding. Adult education was, to some extent, perceived as a solution to all these

problems and there was a flurry of activities in setting up provision such as SCSs (Tsamadias et al. 2010).

During the interviews with the four general secretaries, however, there was relatively little talk about the funding of SCSs. I also found it difficult to gain access to archived documents with financial information. By contrast, all four GSs talked expansively about Life-Long Learning. All four General Secretaries did comment on the fact that the source of funding for SCSs was the European Union. GS1 stated that Second Chance Schools were initially completely funded by European funds but later on a small percentage of the funds came from the Greek state. GS1 said that this financial support was very important for building the SCS innovation in education and that the government wanted to develop it more. He commented "I think that you cannot do some things only with the European funds, [if you want] to do them in the long-term. The European funds help you in building certain things, to set up some experiences, innovations, to be able to continue by yourself" (GS1, p.18). So he saw the importance of European funding as a means to start a course of action and then to be based on the country's own budget for its continuation and sustainability.

For GS2 co-funding from the Greek government and the European Union was very important; he said that it covered all those things that were necessary for implementing SCSs such as the infrastructure, the technological-material infrastructure, the salaries, the educational training programmes and the educational material that had been produced. GS2 (p.7) said that the split was 70% Europe, 30% Greece. Official data in diagrams 2.1 and 2.2 in chapter 2.1 give the size of the investment into LLL. The National Strategic Reference Framework (ESPA) 2007-2013 allowed 3.3 billions of Euros of public investment for education (via the EP Education and Life-Long Learning and the PEP of period 2007-2013). The thematic priority of ESPA's developmental strategy was the "Society of Knowledge and Innovation" (Greek Government Gazette, 2008; 2005).

GS3 did not talk explicitly about funding in his interview. However, he did stress the importance of making good use of European money, and ensuring that SCSs were good centres of education and production. He made the point that making good use of European money could have

an effect on the duration of the SCSs as centres of basic adult education, thus giving an emphasis on the importance of European financial support in keeping "the fire of education" on in the new *hestias* (εστίες) centres of adult education learning (GS3, p.3). It was notable that he used the Greek word *hestias* rather than the more normal, less poetic word for centre, thus drawing on collocations of a hearth meaning the centre.

GS4's response to the issue of funding of schools and the financial crisis was: "We are very careful with the expenditure that we make. Luckily there is co-funding from the European funds, so it is pan-European. So up to now it is not affected. That means that we don't shed money like that" (GS4, p.22-23). Given that the funding was vital in order to develop both its human capital and its economy, it is surprising that the general secretaries were not more explicit about the financial arrangements and plans.

8.7 Policy trajectories-Policy contexts

Policy trajectory studies are an important analytical strategy which provides a mechanism for linking and tracing the discursive origins and possibilities of policy, intentions, responses and effects. Policy trajectory studies employ a cross-sectional rather than a single level analysis by tracing policy formulation, struggle and response from within the state itself through the various recipients of policy. Bowe and Ball attempted to give some conceptual structure to the trajectory method or the 'policy cycle' by adumbrating three contexts of policy-making: the context of influence, the context of policy text production and the context(s) of practice (Bowe et al., 1992:20). Ball (2006:51) adds two more contexts: first the context of outcomes, which has two components, namely outcomes in policy practice, measured against goals of the policy, and outcomes in terms of social justice goals; and second the context of political strategy which operates in terms of our evaluations of the former two sets of outcomes:

> Each context consists of a number of arenas of action-
> some private and some public. Each context involves
> struggle and compromise and ad hocery. They are
> loosely-coupled and there is no simple one direction of

flow of information between them. But in theoretical and practical terms, this model requires two further 'contexts' to make it complete. First, we must add the relationship between first order (practice) effects and second order effects-that is the context of outcomes. Here analytical concern is with the issues of justice, equality and individual freedom. Policies are analysed in terms of their impact upon and interactions with existing inequalities and forms of injustice. The question of the fifth context is then begged, the context of political strategy; the identification of a set of political and social activities 'which might more effectively tackle inequalities' (Troyna, 1993:12).

The trajectory of the SCS policy in Greece is seen in this study in relation to the three contexts of policy. First, there is the influence of the EU, as previously discussed. Secondly, some of the first texts for SCSs came from translations of European texts. They illustrate the making of small-p policies through the borrowing and copying of big-P policies. Thirdly, in the context of practice, the policy does not touch the implementation problems of teachers. Instead, the policy is seen as a political proclamation and not a practical solution for the Greek context. Furthermore, Ball (2006:51) distinguishes between first order and second order effects: "First order effects are changes in practice or structure (which are evident in particular sites and across the system as a whole). And second order effects are the impact of these changes on patterns of social access and opportunity and social justice". At the level of outcomes, the first order effects were constrained by local difficulties. A recipe for all was not effective, and teachers were not trained. The second order outcomes were good for social cohesion, inclusion and fighting illiteracy. Political strategy presented a segmented policy designed to attract more voters, not to make real connections with a continuation of policy for the benefit of the development of adult education in Greece.

The conceptualisation of policy effects is essential in a policy analysis and I would agree with Ball's distinction between the generalities and the specifics of policy effect. Ball (2006:50) advocates that:

> It is not that policies have no effects, they do; it is not that those effects are not significant, they are; it is not that those effects are not patterned, they are, although it is possible to think of policies that just fail to work. But to reiterate, responses vary between contexts. Policies from 'above' are not the only constraints and influences upon

institutional practice. One difficulty in discussing effects is
that the specific and the general are often conflated.

He elaborates on the general effects of policies as being evident when
specific aspects of change and specific sets of responses within practice
are related together. The specific effects of a specific policy may be
limited but the general effects of ensembles of policies of different
kinds may be of considerable significance in terms of their effects for
social justice. Ball says that a concentration on the interpretational
responses of individual actors can lead to a neglect of the compound
and structural changes affected by state policies. This may lead to a
neglect of the pervasive effect of institutional reconfiguration. The EU's
policies regarding dropping out, inclusion, unemployment and cohesion
affected adult education reform in Greece but the generalization of
these policies may not encompass all nations the same way.

8.7.1 The Second Chance School policy trajectory in Greece

According to Barber (2007) there are three contrasting paradigms for
national reform: 'Command and Control, Devolution and Transparency
and Quasi-markets'. These three paradigms provide a toolkit for
governments to recognize how to reform and when, and what each
choice requires of them and their organisations. These are the methods
they can choose from by taking risks for possible successes and there is
no linear sequence of one paradigm following the other. Moss
(2009:168) states that "The policy-makers' skill lies in selecting the
right tool at the appropriate time. All options remain on the table and
can be combined in various ways. There is not a single recipe". Barber
(2007) adds "The acute reality is that the need to transform the way
governments work requires experimentation. The imperative to deliver
better services at an affordable cost can no longer be ignored".

In Europe, policy-making and good governance has become highly
visible and open to theorisation on the part of those involved,
something that has become a global phenomenon now affecting Greece
after 2010 but not before. Moss (2009) says that "much of this
guidance on policy-making is now publicly accessible via the web.
Whether in the UK on government websites or via multi-national
organisations such as the OECD or via private sector organisations who

sell advice to governments engaged in the process of reform, it is possible to find and track the migration of ideas about what constitutes good governance and public sector reform and how it can be best achieved". This is what Kickert (2005) calls 'steering at a distance'. This contradicts what happened in Greece between 2000 and 2010 with the development of SCSs policy. Greece is not particularly 'well wired' as a country and its services are not well organized. As was referred to in chapter four, in the data collection section, while searching for electronic archived documents there was no safe storing of information and documents other than in paper form. All the documents had been created electronically but not kept in a period of time when following European policies was the priority issue for developing educational reform from folk education to adult education. The headquarters in Athens had been fully equipped with computers and most of the SCSs, too; also a lot of programmes were offered for people to be computer-literate. Combined with the silence of the key-players on European funding during their interviews, the lack of records makes it impossible to know whether there is something being hidden. Other implications can be drawn about the quality of public organisation and the hastiness of setting up of SCSs. When AD3 (p.9-10) was asked, as a personal assistant of GS1, the reason for not keeping electronic archives to keep all documents, he answered that there were different perceptions that were an obstacle to normal implementation:

> There is a site, we haven't notarized it. There was, we had made a platform which functioned. All right, there was ineffectiveness. What we were saying that we wanted to do, was not promoted in the best way by the administration team of IDEKE. That was for many reasons, not because they didn't want to. What we felt as a need it was not a need in the same way. That should have been done. Now what can I say?

More than that, the first training organiser gave particular emphasis to the use of technology in establishing contact with the SCSs by saying that:

> Computers played a very big role both in setting up and in the process because by fax this thing could not be done. We exchanged infinite e-mails with every school when they were to participate in the training meetings; we corrected suggestions, again, forward and backward. That could have been impossible without the electronic communication.

It is quite surprising therefore that they ignored the importance of computers for keeping archives during the whole decade.

8.7.2 Stages in Policy Making

This is part of critical social work of what Foucault calls 'the real political task' in our society, 'to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent, and to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked so that we can fight them' (Rabinow, 1986:6). Sheridan (1980:221) calls it 'the unmasking power for the use of those who suffer it'. What is not meant is a strict separation between contexts and their productive activities nor a linear representation of the policy process (Lingard and Ozga, 2007; Gale, 1999) despite this suggestion in Yeatman's (1998) listing of stages: setting the policy agenda and policy development, policy formulation, policy implementation, policy delivery, policy evaluation and policy monitoring. Taylor et al. (1997:25-26) differentiate their position by accepting policy as process, highlighting the political character of both process and text and the disjointed, less rational and more political fashion of policy process making. They believe that "in practice, it is not possible to delineate and separate the elements so clearly".

Ball (2008:41-42) presents policy technologies as a new means of bringing state control and reform together: "Policy technologies involve the calculated deployment of forms of organisation and procedures, and disciplines or bodies of knowledge, to organise human forces and capabilities into functioning systems". The interrelated elements within these policy technologies are: involving relationships, procedures of motivation, mechanisms of change and particular loyalties and responsibilities. In education reform the policy technologies are presented as reform strategies as part of a global convergence and as developed within the public sector as a whole:

> They constitute a 'one-size-fits-all' model for the 'transformation' and 'modernisation' of public sector organisations and systems...These technologies are devices for changing the meaning of practice and of social relationships. They provide a new language, a new set of incentives and disciplines and a new set of roles, positions and identities within which what it means to be

> a teacher, student/learner, parent and so on are all
> changed. Targets, accountability, competition and choice,
> leadership, entrepreneurism, performance-related pay
> and privatisation articulate new ways of thinking about
> what we do, what we value and what our purposes are
> (Ball, 2008:41-42).

The SCS policy was presented as a reform and new roles were formed. It was meant to be applied in all areas in the same way without looking at the particularities of each region. This model did not reflect all realities and all regions in the nation. There were differences in needs, in wishes, in ways of doing things, in the services offered by the country itself.

8.8 Policy Borrowings

In the case of the SCSs' policy it was borrowed from the European policy against fighting school dropout and social exclusion that was itself borrowed from the USA. The USA, which has had a tradition in adult education for more than fifty years (as it was referred to in 2.3), has a well-developed framework of policies and practices that cannot be compared with the first steps in the field in Greece. The policy that was created in Greece was borrowed from Europe that had been borrowed from Alternative Schools in USA, re-defined as a global measure against social exclusion and dropping out, and then adapted to solve specific national problems. The field in Greece was receptive to such measures in part because the society had not solved the issue of illiteracy that had been created after the wars. That demanded adaptation of US/European policy through interpretation of the bigger policy to the local context of social exclusion and dropping out. This is explained by what Robertson (1995) in 3.2 called glocalisation which is the interpenetration of the global and the local. It is the idea of bricolage, borrowing bits and pieces in policy making as explained by Ball (1994) in 3.2 that explains exactly how the policy on SCSs was made in Greece: through accepting a global policy hastily, with no study beforehand and through trial and error, seeing what happened in the process of implementation. The policy changed according to the key people taking the political lead, each of whom gave priority to different aspects of the complex reform process.

Understanding the complexity of why the idea of SCSs policy was taken up at the particular points it was hugely about economy and

politics. As Blair (2005) explained in 3.1, education is the best policy that will work in the 21st century. School drop-out started being a major social issue in the USA where there was a demand for new policies in response to political concerns about the employment and educational prospects of a significant immigrant population and disenfranchised young people (2.3). These policies on alternative education were borrowed by other education systems in Europe. School drop-out emerged as a problem at the end of 1990s in Greece. Prior to this, the problem had been conceptualized as adult illiteracy amongst a small percentage of the population. The framing of the policy 'solutions' that was offered therefore served to re-contextualise the problem and raise other issues. They combined introducing Second Chance Schooling with solving the problem of dropping out, social exclusion, unemployment just by borrowing the same language used in European policies. In fact, there was clear pressure at the national level for Greece to have these SCSs to keep up with other countries, and indicate that Greek policies followed the European ones. In political discourse, school drop-out became defined as a problem and symbolic of the wider desire to ameliorate social problems. It was part of the shift in educational policy, called 'the accepted need' by McCaig (2001), 'the necessarian logic of political economy' by Watson and Hay (2003) and 'the astonishing displacement of society' by Cowen (1996) as explained in 3.1. At the same time, there was an urgent political need for Greece to conform to the European educational ideas in order not to miss the funding opportunities of the EU.

The SCS policy was a borrowing from a European ensemble of policies aimed at fighting social exclusion and school drop-out. It was relatively well accommodated at first in an under-developed adult education system because coincidentally it would solve some of the ongoing social and economic problems in Greece. Policy making is a political process and politicians saw the issue politically; SCS policy helped Greece to be part of the European Union and to Europeanise its policies. The GSs understood they had to respond to globalization, they wanted to access money for Greece which was moving in to a difficult financial situation. Simultaneously, they saw that there was a changing demographic in Greece, with more immigrants arriving with associated educational challenges. It was a challenging, complex political situation where

these ideas got taken up in different ways because there was money available; because politicians genuinely saw that there were more immigrants; because some of them genuinely cared about some of the problems people had; and also because the GSs thought that they would be politically popular by developing adult education that was aimed towards the lower social groups of uneducated people.

The issue of accrediting 'life skills', offers a further example of the pressure to conform to European adult education policy solutions in this area. GS1 maintained that, in 2000, there was "need of an evolution of folk education into more organized forms of adult education by transforming it into [education that focused on the] abilities, life skills for people to [correspond] to the community" (GS1, p.1). This led GS1 to a re-orientation towards the teaching of life skills. At that point there was an influence from other European countries:

> We have reached the point in many countries in Europe where they accredit and offer qualifications for skills that you acquire from life....I am not saying that we have reached this point yet in Greece...This could happen, but it is a big discussion (5.1).

There is evidence here of pressure to reach the level of the other European member states by transforming folk education to adult education and by accrediting informal learning which, in Greece, would require 'a big discussion'. The idea of conforming to the European norms and expectations runs as a powerful undercurrent beneath the surface of this political discourse.

The objectives of improving knowledge, skills and competences within a personal, civic and/or employment-related perspective acquired strategic importance in Greece in order to follow the developmental project of education as it was envisaged by the EU (section 2.2). Marmarinos and Verveniotou (2007:105) stated that "Life-Long Learning as well as Second Chance Schools were 'imported' into Greece from the European Union". Life-Long Learning was advocated as the basic governmental strategy in order to ensure both the provision of knowledge that shaped the personality of the modern active citizen and the acquisition of skills that would improve accessibility in the job market as well as reducing structural unemployment in Greece (Tsamadias and Arvanitis, 2008). As was referred to in chapter 2.1,

priority was given to human capital investment; there was an increase in public expenditure for education and reinforcement of the need for flexibility and cohesion of the educational system. There was also a strong push towards the improvement of quality and effectiveness via decentralization, the reduction of bureaucracy, the evaluation on all levels of education, and research and innovation. The utilization of new technologies in administration and in pedagogic development was encouraged through a holistic national Digital Strategy. ESPA (National Strategic Reference Framework) allowed 3.3 billions of Euros of public investment for education for the period 2007-2013).

8.9 Policy Discourse Changes

The pilot setting up of SCSs was meant by the E.U to place the issue of school failure and its repercussions on the political agenda of the educational authorities in the Member States by creating fresh ideas about the prevention of school failure into the traditional educational system. "An important objective in launching the Second Chance Schools has therefore been to bring a 'forgotten group' to the attention of education policy makers - a group for whom 'prevention' was no longer a choice" (European Commission Report 2001:9).

As discussed in my literature review at 2.2, the tendency of replacing the terms can be seen throughout the decade as the perspective of 'Life-Long Learning' becomes more explicit with keywords such as 'from cradle-to grave' and the replacement of an 'ongoing basis' with 'throughout life'. The dual interrelated objectives of 'active citizenship' and the promotion of 'employability' become indispensable for the transition to a knowledge-based economy and society as it is set by the 2000 Lisbon European Council. There is a shift of focus from education itself to employment and labour market dimensions of Life-Long Learning, while aspects of social participation and personal development are treated as marginal points in the Memorandum. The critique and discussion on these points led to an extension and inclusion of the concepts of 'personal fulfilment', 'active citizenship', 'social inclusion' and 'employability/adaptability' (CEC, 2001:9) in the *Memorandum* on a merely rhetorical level (Novoa & deJong-Lambert, 2003).

As was discussed above, the need for SCSs suddenly appeared in Greek educational policy as though the first chance had been wasted for some people and as a solution to the problem of social exclusion and dropping out. The language is very significant here. Definitions changed from folk education, to adult education, to LLL and SC education is really about remediation, while LLL is not. It is about the idea that you are always actively learning through your life but SC means you missed out: you only need a second chance if your first chance has gone wrong, so the discourse is very important. The significance of the Greek terms change, for this implied the shifts of changes the generals decided to impose after being affected by the changes in the European discourse of LLL. The shifts in policy (2.1) were denoted in the Greek context by renaming the institutions responsible for adult education or the Ministry of Education. In 2001 the General Secretariat for Popular Education was renamed the General Secretariat for Adult Education (GSAE) and in 2008 the General Secretariat for Adult Education was renamed the General Secretariat for Life-Long Learning while in 2010 the Ministry of Education and Religion was renamed to the Ministry of Education and Life-Long Learning.

In relation to SCS discourse, such expressions as social exclusion/inclusion, drop outs, re-entering mainstream education, the notion of literacy were repeated again and again during GS1's tenure while later, they continued to be used but alongside new vocabulary that entered public discourse during GS2's tenure: employability, personal development, quality, economy, social cohesion and active citizenship. This signalled a shift of policy towards the European knowledge economy and new technologies.

In Greece, the political discourse has the power over the educational system. In the case of SCS policy the policy makers' decisions were not enough to be implemented alone. They needed the relevant academic and administrative support, which will be discussed later on in the chapter. In the period of a decade there were changes of four key players in adult education, four general secretaries who all participated in this study. The absence of stability in education is a reflection of an absence of political stability too, while policies are represented by different actors who prioritise different interests. The scientific advisors, saw the SCS policy rather as arising from changes in theories of literacy

learning rather than from social or economic changes that had been affected by Europeanisation. EA1, for example, offered her view that the aim of the training sessions was to 'explain the logic of the model of literacy in that environment, to help teachers work in a different way and develop educational material, and without a book' (EA1, p.11).So within Greece, people working in crucial developmental roles at different levels of the system understood SCS policy differently.

Ball's views apply to the fact that in Greece only the politicians are heard in policy making and that causes a combination of problems, vagueness, and purposes and actions that are not clear-cut and not related to practice. This vagueness was obvious in the first guidelines of SCSs that caused a lot of confusion to teachers.

Apart from the GSs, all the other stakeholders played an important role in institutionalizing SCSs. In order innovations to be acceptable they should involve not only the key players' values but all the people involved. SCS policy interacted with vocational training and secondary education and was part of the transformation of folk education into adult education. This was a point of great friction in relation to SCSs. While in theory they were about reducing inequalities and unemployment by giving people a second chance education, in reality the policy did not touch the needs of Greek society in all regions because of national and local specificities.

Nevertheless, in the stories told about the policy development, four distinct periods in SCSs policy emerge, each of which denotes a certain aspect of its development or pause of development. These periods are separated according to the political terms of the key players in office.

8.10 Phase 1: Inception and Experimentation (2000-2004)

This period encompasses the initiation of SCSs with phases of creation of schools according to incoming funding. A total number of 20 schools were set up, supported by GS1. This phase is characterised by its slow rhythm, and experimentation through the policy process. It saw the transformation of folk education to adult education.

The first General Secretary saw his role as being the promoter, the organizer and the leader of the whole venture of introducing SCSs. GS1

declared that at the level of policy his contribution was the combination of pulling the whole venture together and bringing about change. He said that he started developing SCSs as a basic component of Life-Long learning in a gradual, qualitative way, starting with a few schools: "at the beginning with ten schools, and gradually to be able to develop them" (GS1, p.2). He maintained that his original plan was the one that developed. He explained with passion that "The whole venture of SCSs had a vision, a prospect, but focused to a large extent on searching, exploring, examining how to improve" (GS1, p.14). He emphasized the struggle to manage the implementation process through a lot of discussion and exploration.

GS1 said that they decided to develop SCSs at that time, the beginning of 2000, because the levels of illiteracy in Greece were high and there was a demand in society to improve employment and social skills. He said that he felt the need for adult education because people started feeling pushed out of the way, dispossessed: "jostled, at the backseat, unemployed drop-outs, out of development, showing absence of basic rudiments" (GS1, p .1). He said that he saw all these problems in Greek society, but he did not know what to do. He wanted to start small, to respond both to the European trends and to the needs of Greek society. GS1 was particularly concerned about dispossession through illiteracy and he repeated with passion the image of being 'jostled' and being 'in the backseat' several times, which seemed to signify the depth of his concern and that somehow it was his sense that people were put at the back of the queue and they were not allowed to have their fair chances. He expressed his worries about the situation of illiterate adults; he said he was very moved by their situation and he tried to find ways of improving it. As a human being and as a policy maker he showed real concern about the social problems but it seemed that he missed the technical knowledge or the know-how to do it so he made small steps. The political steps that GS1 took in order to implement SCSs were, first to change the institutional framework from folk education to adult education. Secondly, he introduced the concept of Life-Long learning into public debate; thirdly, he gave SCSs their legal hypostasis [substance] and finally he placed the SCSs within a Life-Long Learning framework (GS1, p.2).

After explaining the political process of implementation GS1 claimed that "we chose this sector for the perception of Life-Long Learning to be developed and it had success. It had success because it responded to a social need and secondly the methods we followed, the methodology that we built the SCSs on, was also a methodology that found response" (GS1, p.1-2). What he considered as his great success was exactly this moving from Folk Education to Adult Education, getting a legal framework, establishing SCSs and the fact that he had identified the social need for education and improvement and he had tried to meet that need. He said that meeting this need was very important for him; he felt there had been a good response to his initiatives because people participated in SCSs. He did not explain explicitly his difficulties.

AD3 (p.6) who acted as his personal assistant said about the transition period and his first steps from folk education to SCSs:

> There was no training on adult education then; there was only Folk training because we started as General Secretariat of Folk Education. The only trainers were the NELE trainers whose training was not enough although they were all notable in what they were doing; some of them were proper but for what we wanted no. We had to deal with a hybrid, an institution that participated in secondary education and it had to be supported there and on the other side to draw from the reservoir of adult education so these people didn't know secondary education, the body didn't know the secondary education. It got into an institution that didn't know, because SCSs were based on secondary education, while the General Secretariat of Folk Education didn't know the world of secondary education, it only knew the world of vocational training. It mostly did programmes with the ministry of work more than having any relationship with the ministry of education. We had material, we had support but we were not an institution like the others. Because we were in formal education, we gave a school certificate; nowhere else in another European country SCSs gave a title equal to the school certificate, so we had also this specificity how to fit an institution that was clearly formal education with a certificate and they had ranked us, all the European reports, all the European statements: formal education - only SCS of Greece. All the others were simply intermediate programmes to reintegrate their trainees back to the institution. They didn't belong by themselves to some stage of education. So we didn't have any support in this how to make this hybrid, this reflective adjustment, to have a curriculum, to have measurable skills, to have a title certificate which for the first time would be; there was no school certificate with descriptive evaluation; we did it, unprecedented, we had a school

certificate that had no marks. Of course many points were
at the borders of scientific absurdity or correctness....

The quotation explains exactly what the problem was. They had
borrowed a policy that seemed to be good enough for the society, for
solving social problems in Greece; it followed the European trends and
the official discourse for SCSs was to develop employability, social
cohesion and the development of the European citizen but in Greece it
would not give any vocational training. It was a borrowing or what Ball
calls a bricolage of ideas that had to be adapted to the Greek context
but the problem was that the policy makers did not know how to
differentiate the formality of the only SCS in Europe that would belong
to informal adult education but that would provide a formal certificate
of secondary education in Greece. It seems that the policy maker and
the relevant stakeholders were caught up in the confusion of the
discourse of SCSs, the European discourse and the absence of
expertise in the field of adult education.

Ball (2008:5) argues that "policies construct the inevitable and the
necessary". Within policy discourse individuals and groups of 'policy
intellectuals' play an important role by establishing credibility and
'truthfulness' by putting 'faces' to policies and by providing ways of
thinking and talking about policies that make them sound reasonable
and sensible solutions to social and economic problems. According to
GS1 the role of the administrative staff of IDEKE and the General
Secretariat in building the SCSs was based on devotion, knowledge,
willingness and zeal for work which were important elements in the
training and its results, plus their extensive experience in approaching
the process and the methodology (GS1, p.8). "They had a rich
repertoire that was utilized both in choice of issues and in
communication with the interested ones. They helped and supported
this venture" (GS1, p.8). Two points are important here: leadership
plays an important role in implementing innovations and in deciding on
reforms in education but they cannot be successful without the
cooperation of the stakeholders behind the scenes who act as the
linking connectors between policy and practice and they need to be
listened to. Giving orders or directions is not enough for implementing
a policy. Success or failure depends on the understanding and

interpretation of policy at multiple levels but mostly at the level of implementation through the stakeholders.

During GS1's tenure the whole venture of training was set up through the work of a central team of people, GS1 explained that it consisted of academics, people of experience, and administrative staff from the General Secretariat with experience of folk education, procedures and tools. Over time there was an expansion of the team to include educators as trainers who presented their experience in adult education. The organizer of training, Mrs H was experienced in adult education and brought a particular theory of literacies; Mr V dealt with internal evaluation; Mr H and some others "also helped from their perspective in this and finally this team acquired good cohesion" (GS1, p.6). According to GS1 this central academic team showed positive characteristics which were: "devotion, knowledge, willingness to work, zeal for work" (GS, p.8). However, AD3 his personal assistant gave a detailed account of how the academic team worked as he was a member of it:

> All these were very important at the beginning because the training programme was formed with them; they had contact with the educators of the schools and there were extensive and long-houred meetings, there was a madness that is; we gathered at the weekends and the meetings lasted hours on hours to end up to the content of the meetings, then to evaluate the ones that have been done, to make the new framework for the next ones; that is there was a dynamic core of people who worked far from hours and reward because they cared about it. That was very good, there was an enthusiasm but it was bad for me because it removed a professionalism which might put the things more bordered, on more solid basis. But in this unbordered framework that we know, the bureaucratic system, we know that these madness's are needed but this is how education becomes a history of continuous efforts.

> Many times the tensions of the scientific team got out because we didn't have harmony; there were oppositions which came out even from the project team; there were conflicts in issues of roles and from my responsibility and from my absence of professionalism, I was a person who didn't know the administration so that I didn't keep, I didn't know how to move according to the literacy. So there was an unborderedness on my side and there was a vague framework from the same body itself that conserved it, because it was convenient for it. As a result being on the borderline from one side, being on the borderline from the other side there was a conflicting

> environment, I was constantly in a .....[unfinished] and with the other members of the project team, with whom we had a very good cooperation - but many times we had to solve such matters and disagreed and all these tensions came out in plenary sessions. They were our tensions, rarely tensions among the teachers.

Although GS1, TO1, AD2 and AD3 talked about a good climate of cooperation, in reality from this interview it is quite clear that there was a lot of tension, a conflicting environment, a lack of boundaries and borders. The degree of freedom they had caused problems because certain aspects had not been designed properly and they had to work as a team of experts while, as AD3 explained, there was a vagueness about their roles and their function. What fuelled the whole venture was the enthusiasm: they had participated in a venture for reform for a common goal: setting up the SCSs which was a priority for GS1. It seems that the SCS policy lacked a structure, a basis on which to build up the new schools.

This central team worked in Athens. In order to have contact with the schools which were created in different phases from 2000 to 2004, IDEKE appointed 'scientific advisors' to each of the SCSs, people from tertiary education "academics, school advisors, experts in unions" (GS1, p.7) who would help to establish the schools in the new field of adult education, and help the teachers to understand the new philosophy of SCSs. GS1 maintained that:

> These schools needed to have some support and they needed the support of an advisor...as an encourager...he encouraged [teachers] in discussions (5.2.5).

GS1 specified the role of the scientific advisors by giving details: "They gave advice but did training when they thought that the teachers needed reinforcement. It was part of the form of the in-school training that tied in with the school life, participated in the school meetings" (GS1, p.9). Again, there was an absence of clear-cut roles because the policy maker was experimenting to see how it would go. It was up to the individual scientific advisor, his or her knowledge, experience and personality to realize what was needed in each school and intervene in solving problems or creating informative training sessions.

Ball (2006:45) comments that, "Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests. There is ad hocery, negotiation and

serendipity within the state, within the policy formulation process" while he argues that only certain influences and agendas are recognised as legitimate, only certain voices are heard within the process of policy making, that "quibbling and dissensus still occur and the result is blurring of meanings within texts, and in public confusion and a dissemination of doubt". At all stages of the policy process there are different interpretations of policy or what Rizvi and Kemmis (1987) call 'interpretations of interpretations'. Ball (2006) insists that interpretational attempts to represent policy build up over time and they spread confusion and allow for playing in and off of meanings that leave gaps and spaces for action and response. According to AD3 there was an over-investment of all those involved in the institution of SCSs probably because they had been waiting for an innovation in adult education for a long time and they did not want to miss the chance that was given to them through European funding:

> Already from 2003 the pathogenic elements existed at the time we were making it. All these created problems. SCSs was an institution in which all the participants over-invested invariably; even us to make our own vision, the administration because it found an effective institution, and the students who passed the school easily, who took the school certificate, everybody over-invested in that and I think at that point somehow the game got lost because we didn't tame our wishes and somehow it sank.

Having a more detailed insider's view in a central post it seems that the 'pathogenic' elements he talks about were the people who participated and who disagreed because they wanted to impose their own views. This happened because there was an absence of strategy about how to deal with all the aspects of the institution and there was not enough expertise in the new field. Wrong interpretations, different wishes and expectations of the stakeholders held back the innovation of SCSs.

GS1 highlighted that his personal motivation for engagement in the process of change was altruistic rather than party political and he added that: "I would also like to pinpoint that the choice of people who participated did not obey any political party or personal logic" (GS1, p.8). But that point was in contrast to one made by the first training organiser who said that the thing that attracted her so much was that:

> This project had a political command (order) with which I was absolutely identified and I worked with people who were friends (comrades), I mean professional friends, we

have the same breath and with those we weren't I didn't continue. It was the political order and the new colleagues who were friends and the educators who chose it and it was a thing which you did with unbelievable joy and unbelievable participation because it had results. And of course I have to say this and I would like you to write it because it is neither flattery nor something else: a very good and clever head. GS1 saw that we needed no control and he left us completely free. This is something I haven't experienced before. GS1 was very satisfied with our work and we were very satisfied from him. This is not something random and you cannot find it that easily. This might be heard a little awkward. For me this project was what I did as a person from beginning to end until GS2 came and I got up and left. The strange thing to be heard is that in no other job I have done in my life I have felt so much liable to people. For me it would be too easy to lower the flag to do less work and to continue to work for GS2 and take some money. SCSs were not money for me, they were not work because if it was work I would have continued it. Many times in our life, you and me do jobs that are jobs. It is not your soul there. You do not compromise part of yourself.

It seemed that GS1 had a real interest in establishing SCSs but relied on academics who had a very strong commitment, who worked during a summer with comrades and who said that they really cared because they were working for a common goal. It surprised me that a GS left the responsibility of curriculum creation to a few academics who were chosen according to their availability during a summer and their same political stance as GS1, although he himself said explicitly that they did not follow any political logic. Contradictions between words and actions are obvious as well as a high percentage of individual judgment in relation to what is considered as expertise in Greece.

Although GS1 had difficulties in deciding what would be the best step for policy making he was based among a team of comrades, although he explicitly rejected the political identity his stakeholders had; in reality he allowed them the freedom to decide themselves on certain crucial sections of SCSs. Although some of them were academics and the climate was good among them, and they were willing to work for this prospective reform of folk education to adult education, some things finally did not go well because there were contradictions and different views within the team. TO1, an academic with a strong voice in setting up the curriculum of SCSs said:

> I want to read to you the last sentence of our introduction[of the first curriculum they created] because

that counts more than anything we say "SCSs is a very interesting bet that must and can be won by all of us and for all of us. Our rewards will be rich because SCS is not a second chance for its students; it is without hyperbole [υπερβολή] exaggeration a second chance for the Greek school". All these things I am telling to you were born as ideas later, I started exactly because that was a reformation venture and for me it is a great pride to say that I was there too. And the reason I left when they suggested to me that from being a mayor I become the usher. I have no problem in watering the flowers in the department of pedagogics, to do very humble things, but I cannot be below someone else who without my presence will decide about training and I will go and execute orders.

TO1 refused to take orders from someone who belonged to the right wing, meaning GS2 who came into office after the elections. It seems characteristic of Greek people that they have strong political views that cause willingness or unwillingness to work with others and that is a repeated process that blocks or unblocks procedures. It is a deeply rooted process, a custom, a factor that impedes progress. Nevertheless, during the first phase, there was a good, cooperative climate that helped in setting up SCSs. AD2 who was the project team director of SCSs stated:

2001-2003 was the peak because we made an effort that could actually be seen in everything, from the simplest daily briefing, up to the simplest visit in a school, up to the European Meeting of 2002 in Crete, which even now is under discussion - that in Greece there was held one of the best meetings of the European Network for the innovation of SCSs. For this, the leadership then had played an important role. They were people that really listened to you. They gave you a direction but they listened to you. I do not feel that they listened to me as a person, but as a representative of the programme, as a programme all these years. I am not speaking from a political point of view because there can exist the same politics and things to be even worse [meaning at the time of the interview in 2010]. It happened to be the specific team of people, not the political leadership. Even the educators had a great zeal. That's why the first colleagues are the most important ones. This climate started getting away in the process.

8.10.1 Development of Training

Originally, in 2000, the focus of establishing SCS gave a priority to schools, teachers and the needs of the students. The training of teachers was on the political agenda from the establishment of SCSs

and it acquired importance because it was the first time that those secondary teachers seconded into SCSs received training after their university studies. GS1 stated that: "We all had the view, that was based on former experience, that changes in education have no luck if they are not based on the educators themselves, if they are not based that is, on the development of their capabilities, their support etc. so that to be able to become protagonists themselves. In respect to this view, training was the vital component" (GS1, p.3). Later he noted: "training I would say was a vital element, it was not something external, it was an element, a catalyst in the whole venture and a process of learning for teachers" (GS1, p.4). This different mentality towards training attracted teachers in SCSs who embraced the institution with warmth and great expectations.

In addition GS1 said that he visualized the educators to be designers and to give voice to their work: "The sense of the educator as a designer did not come by itself, it is based on what the educators do in schools. It is necessary to reinforce their effort and we considered the training to be based not simply on covering inadequacies, as it is usually done in training, but to distinguish the educator as a designer of his own educational work. That was considered to be completely necessary" (GS1, p.4). However, in mainstream education the teachers followed the course book of each subject and they had no freedom to design rather than follow the syllabus, something that contradicts the theoretical background that GS had in his mind and the practical level that he referred to in Greece. That is why it was necessary to develop a new theory for them. He also added that training was organised "as a workshop, as a preparation of educators to become shapers/modulators gradually in one school- five schools -ten schools, into school meetings, through the scientific advisors to develop the pedagogic and didactic approach" (GS1, p.4 & 14). He saw workshops as central to the training but accepted that they "were not always successful" (GS1, p.14), drawing attention to some implementation difficulties. GS1 had strong and clearly defined views about how the process of training and development should occur in SCSs but he never explored what the teachers really needed through research since they would take the innovation and implement it themselves. Once again, the notion of individuality and the power of policy makers' voice cover the voices of the majority, who are the ones who really work on the decisions taken.

Teachers are left outside policy decisions, which is unfair because they have a primary role in implementation of policies. The notion of power is also very important in understanding policy. According to Ball, (2006:47): "Power is multiplicitous, overlain, interactive and complex, policy texts enter rather than simply change power relations". The relationship between policy intentions, texts, interpretations and reactions is complex. Offe (1984:106) in a similar way says that state policy 'establishes the location and timing of the contest, its subject matter and the rules of the game'; and practice and the effects of policy cannot be simply read-off from texts but are the outcome of conflict and struggle between 'interests' in context. Ball (2006:49) finally comments that:

> "the effect of policy is primarily discursive, it changes the possibilities we have for thinking 'otherwise', thus it limits our responses to change, and leads us to misunderstand what policy is by misunderstanding what it does. Further, policy as discourse may have the effect of redistributing 'voice'".

The notion of 'action communities' was a key concept in GS1's vision of the implementation of SCS policy:

> I see it as action communities where the most experienced are at the centre and those who come in want to be in the centre. So the experienced ones act as trainers...on the new ones and integrate them in all this logic (5.2).

This approach worked quite well when the number of schools was small; later with temporary staff coming and going it became a burden as the permanent staff was just a few people. GS1 also talked about the importance of school meetings: "The school meetings were a training procedure, supportive, not academic, discussing what they needed; it was something that tied the school together, an action community on its practice. That was very important for training" (GS1, p.10). Again that depended on the leadership of SCSs. If the headteachers had understood the philosophy of SCSs and they cooperated with teachers, there would be cooperation and good results in schools but there were plenty of examples of the opposite. This raises implications about the organization and the limitations of roles and procedures and the interpretation of the new policy.

He explained why he thought training was so important:

> An inversion of training happened in SCSs. We consider
> that the educators create learning and their teaching in
> schools...they have practical wisdom, and training in this
> case is not to cover some needs, it is to give them the
> capability...to reflect upon and to see things from a new
> perspective...a new training learning procedure (5.2.4).

For GS1 training of educators was a learning experience through the
use of their practical wisdom and experience so he let them free to act
alone. However, that created problems because teaching adults for the
first time in Greece needed a theoretical background that the teachers
did not have. Adult education was not developed in Greece so there
was a huge gap of knowledge that was not taken care of and the
looseness of limits of both the guidelines and the curriculum
complicated things even more for educators. No theory in innovating
the system was provided to teachers as well as no understanding in the
realities of the problems students faced. If teachers had been taught
adult theories their work might have been much easier.

GS1 believed that "the dimension of professional development of
teachers is the basic pattern of SCSs .....As I say the best syllabus is
the teacher himself and so...it was taken for granted that professional
development of teachers is the key" (GS1, p.5).

In GS1's view:

> The educators want a training that is different, close to
> their practices...their needs with a cooperative,
> participatory, creative dimension...this approach" (5.3).

> I would say SCSs were mostly training rather than a
> programme...on how the teachers would...participate in
> shaping the programme, in adapting it to the local
> conditions...Training not in the traditional ways...to be
> different (5.3).

This was necessary in GS1's view because:

> In adult education no one had knowledge. Exactly this is
> the theme of training. Because there are not [training
> programmes], they are not taught in universities; in
> Greece we do not work on this logic....based on the
> schools themselves (5.3).

Although GS1 attempted to deal with the teachers in SCSs by involving
them in the process of developing the schools, the curriculum and the
creation of materials, the training was organized at the central level by

bringing all the teachers into Athens while the problems that the teachers had to face were at a regional or school level. The training was organized around:

> issues that had come up from themselves: planning, designing (the curriculum)...training to develop schools...(5.2.4).

There were different levels of organized training; it was mostly done in the centre but there were some efforts to provide training at a regional level. These efforts did not, according to GS1, meet with much success. However, he was convinced of their importance:

> I think it [training] should be multi-dimensional, one form should be at the school, but you should have central meetings ...but it is in the corridors, what you discuss, the contacts that are done, you exchange a lot that you need (5.2.4).

The above points hide a huge contradiction since all the training sessions were organized centrally from the top and the academic team; the GS decided the themes of training. It seems once more that there is a contradiction between the discourse of the ideal, of what is in theory and what really happened in practice because it was a custom, or the usual way of implementing an innovation in Greece. They changed the discourse and they presented it the way they believed was innovative but they used the same process of implementing training. That caused confusion because the discourse created expectations that were not fulfilled.

This absence of theory in relation to teachers' learning is explained by Ball as a technical process, depoliticized, reconstituted as on the job learning. Ball (2006:62) points out that:

> In epigrammatic form I want to suggest now that we have too much knowledge and not enough understanding...I want to celebrate theory. I wish to argue that the absence of theory leaves the researcher prey to unexamined, unreflexive preconceptions and dangerously naive ontological and epistemological a prioris. I shall wail and curse at the absence of theory and argue for theory as a way of saving educational studies from itself. As a further aside, it is important to note that the collapse of, or abandonment of theory within educational studies has its parallels elsewhere in the field of education for example in the removal of theory work from teacher education courses and the concomitant reduction of teacher development to a matter of skills and competencies and

on the job learning. Teaching like educational studies is thus reconstituted and depoliticised. It is changed from being an intellectual endeavour to being a technical process.

It is no coincidence that all these changes are part of the same contemporary *dispositive,* that is the unity of a discourse through a period of time 'a limited space of communication' which can be considered as the effect of the transition from intellectual intelligence to 'technical rationalism' or to what Randall Collins referred to as the 'loss of cultural capital' the neglect of significant ideas, concepts and theories (Shilling, 1993:103). Ball believes that theory can help us as it can separate us from "the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibilities of no longer seeing, doing or thinking what we are, do or think" (Mahon, 1992:122). Ball (2006:62) explains that:

> Theory is a vehicle for 'thinking otherwise'; it is a platform for 'outrageous hypotheses' and for 'unleashing criticism'. Theory is destructive, disruptive and violent. It offers a language for challenge, and modes of thought, other than those articulated for us by dominant others. It provides a language of rigour and irony rather than contingency. The purpose of such theory is to de-familiarise present practices and categories, to make them seem less self-evident and necessary, and to open up spaces for the invention of new forms of experience.

For Ball, theory plays an important role in dis-identification [it involves a transformation of intellectuals and their relationship to the 'business of truth'], in working 'on and against' prevailing practices of ideological subjection, in engaging in struggle to reveal and undermine what is most invisible and insidious in prevailing practices, to 'sap power'. Theories offer another language, a language of distance, of irony, of imagination. All these ideas come in contrast with Freire's transformative power of students and teachers taking education in their own hands and reflecting and acting on it especially in contemporary times. Teachers seemed not to be in a position to use theory and educational research to overcome and overturn the situation by taking things into their hands in the specific case being examined in this research.

According to GS1: "The schools were called upon to play a role, to trace the needs of the students, to develop projects, lesson plans and material, to cultivate a positive spirit to learning" (GS1, p.4). That

contrasted with the know-how to do it, in combination with the absence of adult training programmes after the University studies and the new demands that the EU asked for in relation to the knowledge economy, social cohesion, employment and the vulnerable groups of adult students that SCSs contained.

GS1 presented the curriculum for SCSs as:

> Not pre-constructed. Continuously changing to be enriched with experience, mostly a procedure with some criteria...in action... finally the idea of ownership, they felt that SCSs were their effort (5.4).

He gave a great importance to the participation of teachers in the formation. He stated that:

> I know many educators...from [secondary] schools and they told me that SCSs were completely different and they found a meaning again in education with SCSs exactly because in SCSs they felt that they were participants themselves....what we call ownership. ...They considered that SCSs was their effort (5.4).

He also added that there were "many discussions on the issue of ways of designing and evaluation" but as he emphasized "it was a constant tension I would say and a constant negotiation. This is what happens with these things but I think that you cannot solve them in the process, not even to pre-define them. I made big efforts academically, and there were many different views in the academic team, as it always happens" (GS1, p.10-11). As a result, the curriculum during GS1's tenure was designed through the work of teachers who were called to participate in an innovation while they accepted guidelines from a team of academics.

It was notable that GS1 talked extensively about training and showed a special interest in it while the other general secretaries did not put such an emphasis on it. For GS1 it was a bottom-up issue. The notion of negotiation arose as a strong theme from the interview with GS1, who spoke about involving and listening to teachers, as well as the team of academics he worked with. He described "a polymorphy of training", "a rolling programme"; he thought training happened "By searching. Not a sonorous programme, searching in the process" (GS1, p.11-12).

> Everything was...in a sense of negotiation, searching, finding, agreeing on certain things. At the first stage... to

> invite them, talk with them, develop the philosophy and
> the broader aims...to ask questions and worries. It was
> held centrally, once or twice a year. The presentation of
> projects at the end ...was also important (5.4).

It was also notable that GS1 used the word 'osmosis' on several occasions. He believed that "through this osmosis it was possible in some way for the needs from schools to come out so that the central team could agree as a negotiation, let's call it, not bargaining, that is the training in order to clarify the aims. In the process this became participatory" (GS1, p.7). However, the process of implementing this training had not been straightforward: "If you see it as a basic means, a basic tool to achieve better learning you can't do without it. We had understood that but there was always speculation....speculation of what to do, what are the issues to develop, is there something else, isn't there anything else, all these things are torturing" (GS1, p.15). GS1's comments, particularly his use of the word 'torturing', indicate some of the difficulties he encountered in the planning and implementation of teachers' training. It became torturing because he had his own ideas about training which were perfect at the theoretical level but difficult to be implemented as the teachers' views were not taken into consideration perhaps because of lack of time due to change of the key people after political elections, as well as absence of a theoretical background. The training was provided by IDEKE (Institute of Continuous Adult Education) which was

> placed in adult education...we wanted it to play this
> training role as an institute...and to design and to be
> connected with research and implementation...it was very
> difficult to do it in this way (5.2.4).

GS1's emphasis therefore, was on the difficulties of establishing research-informed training through a new organization.

To sum up, training of educators started with a lot of enthusiasm but it lacked theory and effective support to teachers although it seemed promising at the start.

8.11 Phase 2: Stabilisation and Expansion (2004-2009)

This period encompasses the expansion of SCSs all around Greece, in rural and faraway places with the launching of satellite schools and a total number of 57 central schools and 75 satellite ones; supported by

GS2, characterised by its speedy steps, fast progress and implementation of other forms of adult education, monitoring and assessment of quality of provision. It was the shift from adult education to Life-Long Learning, the most creative period in quantity and quality, characterised as a boom period 'with a sequence of vigorous steps' (Tsamadias et al., 2010:151).

When the government changed in 2004, Pasok went out of power after 20 years. GS2 was therefore part of a new political regime and he adopted a slightly different stance to GS1. GS2's focus was on the adult education policy which was well-established in Europe. According to Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987), in the past twenty years there has been 'policy overload' or what they call 'hyperactivism' in social policy and more specifically in education. Coffield, (2006:2) talks about the 'depth, breadth and pace of change' and 'level of government activity' in education as 'unprecedented' while Ball (2008:2) describes it as tactical and as being about the dynamism of government, about being seen to be doing something, tackling problems, 'transforming' systems. This kind of dynamism and the necessities and language of change are never more evident than at moments of political change. These points come in agreement with Hyman's (2005:2) account of his time as Tony Blair's speech writer that "modern politics is all about momentum. Stagnate, drift, wobble, and the media or, if strong enough, the opposition, will pounce" while Gordon Brown (Brown, 2007) in his last major speech emphasized the close-knit relationship between the processes of education and the requirements of the economy in calling it the 'biggest transformation in the skills of our economy for more than a century'. These notions had an effect on GS2 and his speed of policy implementation.

It seems that each general secretary added a different notion of development or expansion that was affected by their political stance, the conditions of the country, the personal theory that he had and the experience that he had acquired. There are different notions of speed of implementation and size that fitted with each GS's personal or political theory and duration of tenure. GS1 had a tenure of almost four years and he declared that he wanted a transformation of folk education to catch up with the European trends but he admitted that at the same time this transformation of folk education into adult education was "not

easy because of deep roots in education" (GS1, p.1) emphasizing that "It was all too pressed" (GS1,p.18) and the rhythm he had was a slow one because he wanted "to develop it in a gradual way" (GS1, p.2). GS1 said that he was motivated by a strong moral concern; he wanted to take gradual steps, but was pressed in practice; his vision was to get to the European rhythms, probably to absorb funding. GS2 pointed out that the idea of SCSs, although new to Greece, was not new in itself, as it came from Europe. This was an idea that was important in his thinking. GS2 described the previous GS1's policy as "little steps". He himself wanted to take great strides and move forward. His thinking was more directly related to the wider European project.

Therefore he set about rapidly increasing the number of SCSs: "we made them 57 with 75 branches covering around the Helladic space and of course covering the sector of prisons, which I think is one of the major steps that we did... and these schools had exceptional results" (GS2, p.2). He said that he tried to expand the SCSs geographically all around Greece, by creating branches in the remotest rural areas. In addition, he moved the SCSs into a new sector, the prisons and faraway rural places, something that happened for the first time in Greece and was embraced with enthusiasm. GS2's emphasis on the need for speed was explicit:

> this is valid for all the Greeks, for the overwhelming majority...[to drag their feet about implementing innovation]....but I consider we had achieved a good rhythm, as a total...but the average went well (5.2).

However, this expansion of SCSs did not escape criticism because implementation problems appeared that had to do with the organisation of the satellite schools, their direction and control of extra work that was the central school headteacher's responsibility. AD2, the project team leader of SCSs, commented that:

> However good a head teacher you cannot demand to be cloned and be in all the branches. With the institution of the branches outside the centre, you have lived it, it was a bad point and at that point all of us who were involved are partly responsible, starting even from the headteachers who said that it cannot be done. We should have sent some documents to that GS (GS2) that the branches need another mentality; they needed to have a body, a core of educators to be there. It is not possible for a branch to function with a teacher leaving the key in the

> flower-pot for the next one to go and the next one. They
> are like a second rate schools.

This person's view is highly important because she had a full view of the steps of SCSs' development under all GSs. It also concurs with my personal experience as a head teacher who created two satellite schools. In addition to the points she raises, the issue of speed seems to be what drove the policy makers to move on, to meet time limits for funding. That seems to be the reason for the hasty steps, to impress the electorate about big steps being made and not taking into consideration the careful work that was needed for setting up the satellite schools. GS2's tenure was almost five years and he acknowledged that he met some resistance from the administration staff and that caused delays to his innovative policy when he wanted to move forward:

> So the obstacles are there to be passed over not to nail
> you down...from the beginning I was listening to: 'what
> are you talking about? This cannot be done! ...The people
> from the central service had a different tendency....It is
> good but it cannot be done in Greece' (5.2.3).

The issue of conflicts between the administrative staff and the policy makers, raised by different interpretations, was continued in the second phase too but GS2's response was different, overcoming obstacles as he said and moving forward. GS2 followed the management theory as part of policy science and he tried to keep the power in his hands and be effective. Ball (2006:57) explains that:

> Management theories as modes of objectification place
> human beings as subjects-to be managed. This is a
> 'discourse of right' which legitimates the exercise of
> authority. Its primary instrument is a hierarchy of
> continuous and functional surveillance. Effectiveness
> research can be seen to have played a crucial role in
> laying the groundwork for the reconceptualisation of the
> school within which management discourse operates and
> has played its part in providing a technology of
> organisational measurement and surveillance.

Foucault advocates that in this way governmentality is achieved through the minute mechanisms of everyday life and the application of 'progressive' and efficient technical solutions to designated problems. Foucault (1979b:20) defined governmentality as an "ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, that allow the exercise of this very specific

albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population". This is a way in which education as an epistemological development functions politically and it is woven into the practical management of social and political problems. GS2 presented all the signs of governmentality, rationality and effectiveness in his work, which was affected by his personal views. GS2 expressed his personal political philosophy in the following manner:

> Listen, as a character I am of the average way...everything in good measure and always with feedback in the process. That is, you evaluate in the process...and you make correctional movements in these things (5.2).

That was a completely different approach to GS1's idealist approach, which leads me to draw conclusions about the implications of the personalities of individual key players in politics and in policy making. The key players of policy making in adult education in Greece followed European policies, tried to solve social problems through the operation of policy technologies as long as European funding was coming in the country and GS2 made an effort to apply a policy science model with its managerialism and quality assessment for the first time in Greece, as it was required by the knowledge economy of the EU.

8.11. 1 Development of Training

GS2 agreed with GS1 on the importance of training and expanded the training from what it was during the first years of GS1 by including the teachers and systematizing the processes:

> Look, it is known that in the educational system the basic constituent is the educator so we had to take care of this basic component. It was taken for granted that teachers came from formal education, from the typical, the classical system of education, and...they had no training in adult education...of Life-Long learning (5.2.4).

In the first period, training was an experimental process with searching and negotiating at many levels while in the second one, there was an effort to systematize training through a generalized long-distance system that would include all forms of LLL teaching because of the expansion of the number of schools and educators who taught in SCSs. GS2 referred to the importance of initial training before teachers began working in SCSs and he referred to the attempt to institute a unified

national register of adult educators. In the event, this was not implemented because of political change.

In relation to the curriculum development GS2 stated:

> We had found a curriculum...With the experience we were acquiring we modified it, we completed it....All these are part of life and evolution (5.4).

This is the only statement GS2 made in the whole interview about the curriculum although it was an important issue in SCSs for educators. Generally GS2 was less talkative in comparison to GS1 but his tenure can be characterized by steady steps of expansion, stabilization and control of both quantity and quality. AD3 commented critically on this point by saying that:

> There was a tendency [by GS2] to reach quantity indexes, I haven't seen (I have already been outside [SCSs] now) any agony for quality indexes. When you care about the quantity and not about the quality indexes you have buried training. Training stopped, the scientific advisors in each school unit were stopped so the in-school training weakened (came in atony) [ατόνισε]. That is, we [the supporters of GS1] opposed to the abrupt expansion of schools, we disagreed with this rapid development of the institution. They [the GS2's supporters] were seeing that it had a good infrastructure and they got in the procedure of abrupt expansion; I would say that the next political leadership adopted it completely and the generalisation reached the vertical.

One of the new roles that were introduced in this period was the role of the regional adviser, which replaced the role of the scientific advisor of each school. The regional advisor was responsible for three to five SCSs in a prefecture. GS2 explained that the role of the regional advisers included participation in the training process, help in establishment problems, advice to the teachers in SCSs in relation to didactics, methodology, behaviour towards adult students: "they had an engagement in the whole process" (GS2, p.4).

To sum up, teachers were more actively included in the training and negotiation processes during GS1's and GS2's tenure, after which the whole system of training started being more structured and transformed to a long-distance programme, though this was not applied finally because of a political change. GS2 saw it in more structured terms and proposed a centralised national register of

suitably qualified adult educators, but this was not implemented during the two years from 2008-2010 of GS3's tenure.

8.12 Phase 3: Idle and Inactive (2009-2010)

GS3, who came into office in 2009 and was in the same political party as GS2, claimed he had a good view of what existed before but he wanted to develop his own view by visiting schools all around Greece. GS3 thought it was important to travel and visit the schools and get actual experience of meeting the teachers. He suggested that the schools needed more coordination and inspiration but he proposed that another 39 SCSs should be built and established. However he said he had been unable to realise those schools, to bring them into existence, because of difficulties with the political process and with the financial procedures. He did not explain this in detail in the interview, but he gave some indication of the difficulties he had been facing:

> Because the [political] change happened so we didn't really have the time to create... because I had found a process with the mayors, the local lords and made an agreement (5.2).

It seems that there was a contradiction between his ambitions and his wishes for adult education and what he really did in the post of general secretary. According to reports from teachers, GS3's travels around Greece and Europe to have an overview of LLL caused delays in taking prompt decisions that resulted in delayed functioning of SCSs.

Like GS2, GS3 was particularly tuned in to the European dimension. He particularly emphasized the progress of European projects and programmes such as Erasmus and Grundtvig. In fact, as he later pointed out, only two schools participated in these European programmes. He stated that "I visited all around Greece. My view is a global and a total one about all schools"(GS3 p.10). It was quite surprising that as a GS he should not know which of these programmes were related to adult education (i.e. not the Erasmus or Leonardo Da Vinci programmes). GS3 gave the impression that he took the post for political reasons but he was not prepared for the burden of work of this post; he spent his time as pleasantly as he could. That resulted in the contradiction between what he said in his interview and what actually happened in SCSs.

GS3 placed great emphasis on working from first-hand experience: "I visited all SCS schools and that specifically pleases me because I had a personal opinion and not word-of-mouth or through the service agents. I wanted to have my personal opinion" (GS3, p.2). He visited schools both in Greece and abroad "I went to Poland where the SCS was awarded a prize and I went to Norway and there I made agreements" (GS3, p3). At different points, GS3 referred to the pleasure he had taken in making surprise visits: "I passed round the boxes of books and a young lady recognised me by chance and said, 'It is the general!' Everybody got up; they couldn't believe that I would do an inspection. I asked, 'What is happening here?'"(GS3,p.13). At another point he said:

> I went to an area to inspect the SCS exams, no wrong, the language, the foreign language that immigrants were learning...Why was it I went suddenly? But this is the beauty, when they didn't expect me. There I appeared myself.....wherever I went all of a sudden (5.2).

He gave the impression that he was mostly interested in checking and controlling work in faraway places rather than creating or regulating policy as a general secretary. His previous experience in the army had left the stamp on him of control and the language he used 'inspection' 'orders' 'sudden visits' to schools led to that direction. He articulated his views on managing the implementation process in the following way: "Whatever orders you give, I am interested in gaining the major and managing the minor as much I can. But I want to gain the major" (GS3, p.15). Travelling around took time, and GS3's tenure was short, (just eleven months), so not much time was left for action, particularly in the light of the implementation problems that he had to confront.

In the interview, GS3 gave a detailed account of political decisions that he took and areas in which he developed SCSs. Firstly, GS3 created SCSs in the women's departments in prison because he considered it unfair not to have a SCS there; for similar reasons linked to social justice, he supported establishing SCSs in faraway rural areas such as Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. However, "For me personally, the most serious of all, from the SCSs are the prisons.... In Thessaloniki I made a school inside it for women" (GS3 p.10). GS3 considered that the services and building infrastructure of the SCSs needed upgrading: "there was a fight... I made real agreements. I said everything is essential: electricity, water, telephone and heating. Give them in order

for me to come and make a SCS. That is how I made them possible"
(GS3, p.11). His stance was completely different to the previous GSs
and he gave the impression that he knew more but did less to solve
real problems that appeared. Most SCSs had been sharing the same
building with a morning secondary school and most local authorities
were willing to accommodate a SCS by covering its expenses for the
benefit of their electorate. He set up meetings of headteachers and
staff, took up the issue of promotion in SCSs, and took an interest in
how things should function. He was concerned about the issue of
access to information and differences of information available to
teachers in areas such as northern and southern Greece because in
Northern Greece SCSs participated in European projects while in
Southern Greece they were more isolated. He stated that "I gave the
order then to have meetings every six months. The headteachers of
SCSs to be gathered all together and to have some communication....
you will take specific orders on how to function....the promotion will be
done in a unified way" (GS3, p.12).

GS3 expressed the same view about the administrative staff in the
General Secretariat of Life-Long Learning.

> I have no complaint. They were really exceptional, the
> educators who came there with detachment and devoted
> so much love. It made a big impression on me...And the
> pressure, here we had pressure every day from IDEKE,
> from me personally in a sense, that I know (5.2.3).

After GS2, from March 2008 to June 2010, no training took place at all.
In response to questions about why there was no training after 2008
GS3 seemed confused and answered that it was a programme that had
not yet started. However, GS3 had a general belief in the importance of
training: "Whatever you are, but whatever you are, you must be
trained. So training is continuous, perennial, the same as LLL.
Somebody who has been left years ago is useless, worthless" (GS3,
p.17). As an example he spoke of the importance of training in
updating the skills of a professional surgeon.

8.13 Phase 4: Tangled in the economic crisis (2010-2012)

When Pasok returned to power in October 2009, GS4 came into office
with the change of government. Pasok had a new governmental policy
that gave a great emphasis to LLL and the Ministry of Education

became the Ministry of Education and Life-Long Learning. According to GS4, for the first time in the whole decade, LLL programmes were heavily promoted and a lot of funding came from Europe for that purpose. GS4 stated that, when he came into office on 13-01-2010, he felt that he did not inherit any policy but a network, a medley or mess (panspermia) [πανσπερμία] that needed tidying up. His method of tidying this up was by placing a particular emphasis on financial literacy, entrepreneurship, attention to the economy and the financial and economic dimensions of the curriculum. There was clear evidence of the impact of the Greek economic crisis in the policy of GS4.

GS4 placed a strong focus on the development of curriculum whereas the other three General Secretaries had the emphasis on getting the systems right, for example to encourage communication between schools and to establish a system of promotion. GS4 showed his interest in curriculum particularly in financial literacy and entrepreneurship and steered SCSs in this direction. GS4 maintained that "now we are in the process of revision and development of a new curriculum based on a different direction set by the Prime Minister himself" (GS4p.12-13). Pasok and the new government promised to give priority to LLL. GS4 talked about a new curriculum that was going to provide new forms of learning to Greek citizens "such as financial literacy, entrepreneurship, online training courses on computers for Greek citizens, foreign languages, social skills, and other ones which are necessary in today's market that will help the country develop" (GS4p.12-13). GS4 intended to make some changes in the curriculum by making it a bit tighter because he got the sense from the SCSs that it was very loose. However it was left up to the central team of academics to investigate and decide on these matters:

> A scientific group, a Committee composed of officials of the Secretariat but also by external professors will make an evaluation of the programmes....They want it a little tighter even themselves...I discussed it with [the prime minister's personal assistant but also a professor in adult education] (5.4).

So GS4 placed considerable emphasis on the academic teams for steps to make progress in curriculum design but having in mind to change the original flexibility of SCSs and bring them closer to mainstream education with fixed material.

In relation to the General Secretariat, GS4 considered it as "an obsolete organisation, with people who have lost their interest in work and you can depend on just a few people". He added that "the administrative staff neither related to new obligations, nor had the knowledge, nor is the number of staff enough" and he suggested a restructure of GSAE, training of staff and the employment of new staff. He summed up: "These are my first views in a nutshell and I have already put you in the plans of what is happening" (GS4, p.10-11). He felt uneasy about whom to trust and he presented a negative view of the people surrounding him. GS4 agreed with GS3 that SCSs achieved a good level and that the administrative staff in GSAE in the department of SCSs loved their work, a point that GS1, GS3 and GS4 pinpointed. He had a negative stance towards whatever had been created so far in LLL, looking at things with the political perspective.

GS4 emphasised governmental support for LLL but reports from educators I visited in schools made it clear that great functional problems in SCSs appeared in 2011 and 2012. This contradiction between promises made and no action relevant to the real situations of schools generally created a climate of mistrust and a lot of disappointment in Greece and no steps forward.

GS4 had a clear steer in the general political manifesto to expand LLL. However, after 10 months of tenure he remained uninformed on issues of training of SCS teachers although he declared the issue of training was "within our priorities". Our interview took place on 3rd November 2010, ten months after he had started in office and GS4 occasionally had to turn to his assistant, who participated in the interview under his orders, to ask for information on the issue of SCS teachers' training.

The process of attention to training shifted from one political period to the next, with a differentiation of focus each time. It was affected by the views of the political leadership and the decisions of the academic groups of experts. GS1 supported the idea, that the training should be "more differentiated. It must be more of a workshop" (GS1, p.13). The other general secretaries did not comment on the form the training should take but the implication from GS2's decision for a unified register and a training centre that would work by distance education from Athens and the fact that in GS4's tenure the training started in a

long-distance mode from the centre of each prefecture is that, for those two GSs, the tendency was to maintain central control in an attempt to offer a unified set of general principles of adult education.

During GS4's tenure the new generalised form of blended training was introduced. There were no scientific or regional advisors and GS4 saw no reason for the previous advisory system to be reactivated: "the network isn't that huge so that for every 3 or 4 SCSs to have a scientific advisor. The aim is for the administrative cost to be shared, to drop and more educational work to be produced" (GS4, p.16-17).

GS4's secretary who had also been in post since GS1's tenure expressed her personal views on the training that was offered during the decade:

> ...with [GS1] when it all [training] started...it was done very well. It was exceptional. They gathered every month or every 3 months, and they did training on the issue of their subject, with activities, problems, that is, that was real training. And those people were taking an amount of money per year to make those training sessions. I think this is irreplaceable (Sec, p.9).

To sum up, different political leaders in Life-Long learning were supported by teams of academics who aided the establishment of SCSs and the issue of training by looking at it through different angles. These academics gave priority to political decisions and political changes and not to the continuation of training as such. This approach was started by GS1, strengthened and stabilised by the second GS but abruptly interrupted by the third GS. The fourth GS transformed the training into a more generalised, centrally managed form that was arguably more distant from the subjects of teachers' work.

8.14 The issue of political changes

The four generals were asked for their views on the future of SCSs. Both GS1 and GS2 commented favourably on the political survival of SCSs in Greece throughout the decade. GS1 said that he felt that the initiative of the SCSs was very important and he noted that it was one of the few institutions that had survived three governments. "That means that it has a more general acceptance, it had more general success, it was due to the people, let's say, and on the other side it was

an educational initiative" (GS1, p3). At another point he added that "the case of SCSs did not change through a succession of governments because of the social acceptance they had, their correspondence to a broader idea in Europe, the fact that they were an educational initiative for educators and finally the fact that they were successfully implemented" (GS1 p.8). He said that in the beginning they were energized by the enthusiasm of the staff and the students: "The early SCSs were very dynamic and full of future possibilities" (GS1, p.3 & 11).

GS1 talked about the impact of political change in Greece. In response to the suggestion that training tends to be a casualty of changes in political leadership, GS1 agreed and responded "At this point [of political change] it becomes worse. Everything else is abolished. It's like betting I think. Instead of having an abolition logic [it is better] to have an improvement logic. SCSs are based on this view" (GS1, p.8).

GS2 referred to the political tendency of one government not to continue the previous government's work but to abolish it completely or change it. In response to the suggestion that in order to produce improvement in education the political leadership should be steady for some time, GS2 spoke passionately saying that:

> Look, this could be so...But here [in Greece] not only the generals change but all the staff, since the decade of 1980s. The rural guards [unqualified people] became directors with the political party identity (5.2).

GS2 laid great emphasis on the importance of human capital but was concerned about the vagaries of the political system. In his own words:

> I want to hope that people will choose the right mayors, the right prefects who will be conscious of the role of human capital. If this does not happen and they drop it to the pavement...instead of maintaining a school, then Greece will not get out of the rut. People should be aware of what they vote for....What can we do? (5.2.2)

GS2 was concerned about the unofficial but well established custom in public services in Greece whereby the new political government changes all the executives and general directors in educational administration, giving priority to those with the party identity who are the followers of the political party in office. In the interview, GS2 identified problems with the implementation of policy, and concerns

about political arrogance and the continuity of political leadership, all of which, he maintained, had an impact on the SCS policy.

GS3 agreed on this point and maintained that "Well at this moment, here it is, four, five years of government, four ministers at the Ministry of culture and they changed all together, general secretaries, chairmen, etc." (GS3, p.7-8).

GS1, GS2 and GS3 agreed that innovations in education in Greece tend to be delayed or not even applied because of political changes in government, party political differences and the tendency of new governments to cancel, rather than build on previous decisions simply because they were initiated by the previous political group. They pointed out the difficulties of establishing educational priorities. The impact of political instability upon the important initiative of SCSs was a notable theme of the three former General Secretaries. GS4 did not comment upon this, probably because he was in office at the time of the interview.

GS4 was more confident that SCSs would not be affected, because they responded to a social need for education. He said: "What will happen in the future? The programming is for funding that signals the future [there is provision for funding the schools]. ...In any event I am telling you we will not touch them because of the social need" (GS4, p.22-23).

All four general secretaries were positive about the existence and function of SCSs in the future because of their social function in human capital development. They remained sceptical about the political problems in Greece. The Greek way of doing politics did not match with the desire to develop the SCS policy, whether it was a real desire or just pretence. In the decade 2000-2010 the Greek way of doing politics did not allow SCSs' policy to work. It did not work because it was a borrowed policy that left room for multiple interpretations on the part of the stakeholders involved. Different levels of discourse, different understanding of policy ideas and shifts, practical difficulties, personal judgments, strong political views, political changes of the key players and their working team of academics, all played their part. There was insufficient emphasis on gaining access to and developing teachers' understanding and the real practice in schools; there was a lack of

know-how and real expertise and the pretence of expertise. There was insufficient emphasis on developing theoretical resources and organisational structure to work on and properly establish SCSs.

8.15 New Roles

Within each of the technologies of reform as discussed in 3.6, there are embedded and required new identities, new forms of interaction and new values. Ball (2008:43) argues that: "Significant education policy shifts from the 1980s on gave managers devolved powers to control their organisational budgets, their workforce and internal decision making in innovative and creative ways to achieve new goals and purposes". This new paradigm of public service organisations brings the use of new language; the organisations are peopled by 'human resources' that need to be managed. Embedded in this is the intellectual work done on and in the 'politics of truth' by the advocates and technicians of policy change, and the 'will to power' and desire of those who find themselves the beneficiaries of new power relations. What it means to teach and what it means to be a teacher are subtly but decisively changed in the process of reform. Policy makers bring new roles into play and they exclude or marginalise previous roles by changing what is important, valuable and necessary.

In SCSs the new role within the first three years was that of the Scientific Advisor of each school, usually an academic. This later changed to a Regional Advisor, who was responsible for a number of schools in the region. Role-holders were usually secondary teachers with high qualifications rather than academics. More than that, for the first time in the Greek educational system, psychologists and employment counsellors were introduced to SCSs to support adults to get back to mainstream education. Teachers in SCSs were given certain names that shifted from mentors, tutors, educators, sliding back to teachers. The same happened with the term 'literacy': at the beginning the policy makers used the notion of 'literacies' instead of subjects, while later on it was used by habit without really expressing the same meaning. New staff had no idea what it meant.

8.15.1 The English Advisor's Role

The positioning of the experts in the professional development sector was done by the politicians. The rhetoric of the different politicians regarding these expert roles, ranged from assuming that they would offer full coverage of professional development to assuming they would offer general repetitive training; assuming coverage of professional development across the geographical contexts of Greece to abrupt abandonment of the program. There were therefore very different nuances over the course of the decade.

The role of the English advisors included the coordination of workshops and guidance of teachers of English in SCSs as part of their professional development from 2004 to 2008. EA1 understood that:

> My role was mainly coordination only of the workshops in any way I considered that would be effective... and later on to keep an electronic contact with the teachers of English....that was not required (6.2).

EA1 recognised that dealing with students with learning difficulties was an issue for the teachers. However in her view the aim of the training sessions was to 'explain the logic of the model of literacy in that environment, to help teachers work in a different way and develop educational material, and without a book' rather than to deal with the specific pedagogic problems (EA1, p.11). EA2 stated that she had either a training or guiding or supportive role to the educators of SCSs, sometimes all three at once. During GS1's tenure, EA1 got directions from the first Training Organiser but that was for a short period because there were elections in April and there was a political change. GS2 took over. The role was changed and the reformulation of the SCS curriculum was made a priority. The formation of the English Curriculum was for the first time added to EA1's obligations. A scientific team of SCSs was created and the thematic advisors were members of it. This team functioned up to 2008 and then it weakened because no more training was provided. As EA1 explained "During GS2's tenure there were different decisions which clearly affected the teaching that was done in SCSs and of course that created some specific conditions relating to how to do our work" (EA1, p. 7 & 8). How EA1 perceived her role and what should be done according to research on foreign-language learning difficulties and factors predicting these difficulties, is a point of conflict.

As discussed in 3.9, according to Sparks, Patton, Ganschow, Humbach, & Javorsky, (2006); Atwill, Blanchard, Gorin, & Burstein, (2007) there is a strong relationship between L1 oral skills and later levels of oral and literacy proficiency in L2 among adult learners especially when they are assumed to be native speakers of an official language of their nation of origin, but in fact they may speak a minority language instead, where phonological skill transfer is affected by the phonological similarities and differences between the learner's L1 and English (Juffs & Rodriguez, 2008; Wiley, 1993). EA1 did not consider these aspects in adult learning as being part of her obligations as trainer and advisor of adult educators of English.

Students had dropped out of school because of learning difficulties, because there was no diagnosis years ago. When these adult learners returned to school they were being taught not only Greek but English as well. That was even harder for them and here there was nothing specific to help teachers immediately. They expected that the two EAs would support them in teaching English to adult students with specific methodologies, techniques, lesson plans and materials designed for adults. However this did not happen. EA2 also felt that "The problem of teaching adults with learning difficulties had been identified; they referred to it, they discussed it and it was transferred to the psychologists" (EA2, p.12). She added that the educators themselves were talking about how they could solve such problems and they suggested solutions. EA2 was not sure that the training could cater for the multitude of problems the adult students might face: "I believe all these people had a special problem each one with a different one. If you took all these problems you should have different meetings for each problem, isn't that so?" (EA2, p.12) According to EA2 their role was not to solve problems during training but to attend to how teachers solved problems themselves, which created contradictions in the use of roles and their ambiguity through multiple interpretations of policy as explained in 3.6 and its flexible margins. It was as if they spoke at different levels of discourse.

According to Schaetzel, Peyton, & Burt (2007), Vinogradov (2009) and Bigelow & Schwartz (2010) literacy instruction should be tailored to the unique needs of adult students of English who learn to read and write for the first time; and educators should be given professional

developmental opportunities to help serve effectively this population. There was no such training offered to SCS teachers.

When asked about teachers' professional identity, EA1 (5.1.3) said she considered teachers of English in SCSs to be generally open and fairly extrovert in character. However, she also noted that they seemed to her to be resistant to change, particularly changes in their routine. She said that she found it interesting "to see how the teachers themselves define their professional identities" (EA1, p.5). She considered that their professional identity was created by their university studies and since there was no extra training she considered it difficult for them to acquire a professional identity. Somehow she excluded herself as a training coordinator and advisor of English from the responsibility of creating a new identity for teachers in SCSs or of advising on how adult learners can best learn a language, especially when their social and economic background does not leave them the time, the opportunities and the relaxation to learn. EA2 also found teachers of English very resistant to change. She considered that this was because they had not been used to receiving training in public schools. She commented that it was difficult to change people's beliefs and she regretted this. EA2 said that both English Advisors worked very well together and they believed that the teachers could do new things when they had the right disposition, talent and degree of openness (EA2, p.3). EA1 said that there was a need for change for teachers of English in public service, because new theories were abroad but neither advisor ever explained what these new theories were. She pinpointed that English teachers were a diverse group and some were conservative and reluctant to change. Nevertheless despite observing this conservatism, on the whole, she thought that teachers of English were more open than teachers of other subjects. Her arguments were difficult to pin down as she seemed to excuse herself from her obligation to train the teachers and she doubted their willingness to be developed and helped in their teaching.

EA1 however considered that, in the workshop sessions, her main role was to listen to the teachers although she was appointed to train teachers in the new field of adult education. Her aim was not to make presentations herself but to allow the presentations to come out of the educators themselves. She said it would have been easy to do it herself

but instead she had asked everybody to come and present a teaching unit, an activity, a project they did:

> By doing this, by the end of the day each educator left having collected a packet of different ideas...having as an aim that the educators themselves should develop, to talk about their work and to present their work (6.2.2).

She felt that producing a kind of competition among the educators was a creative element she brought to the workshop training. EA1 confirmed that the workshops were inadequate to cover all the teachers' training needs: "they cannot be covered. When you talk, the needs are so different that it is impossible. The aim of the training meetings is not only to cover needs, because that varied unbelievably" (EA1, p.11). EA1 noted that the needs in the Peloponnese were different from the needs in Thessaloniki or from the ones in Athens, which left training needs uncovered and the burden of the innovation on the teachers' shoulders.

EA2 stated that both EAs got directions from the second training organiser who was very diligent in her work and discussed with them all the details of training. EA2 added that together with EA1 they covered all the schools, in all regions in Greece. They decided about changes in the content of the training meetings in the workshops:

> I made alterations the moment I saw that the educators were asking for them. First I asked their views, what their needs were...I tried to give them solutions that were related to literature (6.2).

By drawing knowledge and experience from her field of specialisation she considered that the English teachers' work would be more imaginative and creative, which did not overlap with the real needs of multicultural issues, the creation of materials, coping with adult students and adult learning theories.

AD2 said that the scientific advisors could have been more active; as a concluding comment formed by the views gathered while being the project team leader: they saw their role as guiding, and when they were asked by teachers for specific help they did not always give any. They were there, they listened to all the teachers but they had not made concrete suggestions. They drew information from their field of studies but they made no effort to realise the difficulties the teachers

had in the region. That is the case of the Turkish minority in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace.

8.16 The impact of Second Chance Policy on Teachers

Now I move on to analyse data that derived from the micro level, the teachers who implemented the specific policy in seven SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Greece.

8.16.1 Regional Issues and Difficulties

As discussed in 7.1, immigration was high in Greece and the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace is characterised by the coexistence of native Greek, diverse linguistic minorities, cultural otherness and cultural blending of Muslim population, Roma, Pomak-speaking, Turkish-speaking and some other minor populations. Greek is the official state language; the area has the highest percentage of school drop-out (over 60 %). These were special conditions that had to be covered and be considered in the new policies set up for fighting illiteracy in Greece generally and more specifically in this region. However, the policy of SCSs did not identify the specific needs and circumstances of this region, although the majority of the students in five of the seven schools were Muslims who had never been to school or who dropped out of the mainstream education because they had been left behind and could not follow the rest of the students. There was no special care taken for such an acute problem in such a sensitive area. According to Ball (1994) in 3.2 the process of policy bricolage and the cannibalisation of trends and theories might lead to policy texts that are believed to work in all cases but the specific study draws hints on some European policies which have not been successful because they did not consider the local specificities.

As was seen in 7.5, at the regional level and more specifically in the prefectures of Komotini, Xanthi, Sapes, Alexandroupoli and Orestiada, teachers (T7, T11, T13, T14, T17 and T19) talked about the difficulty they had to face at many levels because the students could not speak Greek at all, or just a little. They could not write in Greek, they spoke their dialect and they had to learn English. Most of the students were Muslims of Turkish origin so the teachers had to cope with the problem

of communicating with their students first. They felt they should either help them with their Greek or learn Turkish themselves. Teachers did not know how to act and how best to avoid sensitive multicultural issues, what was socially acceptable and the position of women in Muslim society specifically and in Greek society more generally, as well as religious issues. T14 explained in detail that:

> So they have to learn both Greek and English as a fourth language. If they aren't Pomaks English is their third language. This is a challenge because first of all, I have to stray into the languages and find common elements because everybody learns Turkish in the minority schools. ...Another challenge is the multicultural challenge...issues that need tactfulness...how to treat Muslim women, how to behave, how to approach them. I don't wish to insult them but...I cannot make any racist comments. There are other issues, social issues too (7.5).

T14 also added that all these social issues emerged while teaching a foreign language. He referred to an example of creating a short CV in English, where he had to cross out the mother tongue because of the language issue and the multi-cultural difficulties, which created a lot of difficulties in teaching and were not covered in the offered training sessions.

There were different difficulties and challenges in each part of the region related to local conditions of life, preconceptions of the importance of education and what the rest of the society would judge as positive or negative. It was unusual to go to school at an old age in remote rural areas. There, society believed that education was only for children so those students who came back into education in SCSs had to fight against misconceptions. Teachers in SCSs should have been informed about all these issues but there was no information given by the policy makers or the EAs because they lived in Athens and had no deep understanding of the situation beyond what the teachers told them.

In contrast, during the interviews EA1 did not refer to the difficulties of Thrace related to the multicultural citizenship of different minorities. In contrast, EA2 did talk about the regional problem of Thrace where the students who attended SCSs were of different minorities and they could not write and read in the Greek language. EA2 suggested there should be training seminars for each region because:

> When the other cannot communicate at all in his language because his language is not spoken and the educator speaks Greek that he doesn't know [Turkish], we are speaking about a very big problem...so they will either deal with their own people or be completely isolated (6.3).

EA2 had suggested different articles to teachers in Thrace: linguistic articles on the Turkish language, on the effects of the Greek language on Turkish, and the effects of the Turkish language on Greek. But the advisors discussed the issue as if it was the responsibility of the teachers alone.

T3 explained the difficulties she had during the first year because of inexperience about the function of SCSs. She worked in three different SCSs in three years but she focused on Nevrokopi (a branch of Drama where the students came from different villages). They were mostly elderly farmers, often with alcoholic problems that teachers had to take into consideration. The school helped students but it also created problems because the rest of the villagers made fun of them. There was racism towards those coming to school and some of them dropped out for this reason.

In Iasmos (a branch of Komotini), initially T3 was frightened because of the religious issues; she felt that she had to become informed about the Muslim way of life. She was working in a Pomak village that was located between Xanthi and Komotini. She had no problem with the students there. However, she heard from one of her colleagues who was working in another Pomak village that students there had a problem because the teacher was a woman younger than them. The issue of women's position in society and how it was perceived was strong in the area. There were misconceptions about the freedom that Muslim women had and whether they let girls go to school. In Sapes one of the two teachers discussed a case of a Muslim father who attended the SCS in order to monitor his daughter's movements; she had insisted on being a student in the SCS. At the first level they had only two women, which showed that there were still taboos. In Xanthi's SCS and in Komotini there was reference by the teachers to the taking of antidepressant drugs because women reported that they could not tolerate what was going on at home. T15 for example said: "Many Muslim women here take anti-depressive medicine because of

oppression". This had an impact on educators in SCSs and more specifically on teachers of English who were ignorant of the situation and they did not know how to cope with it. They said they found teaching English difficult because there was no common frame of reference; students came to school to improve Greek and found they had to learn English as well. T7 said:

> Our school has some peculiarities in relation to learning Greek. That was a problem which remains a problem. We started with 60% Muslims and 40% Greek and now we have reached 90% Muslims and 10% Greek and this is a problem. We have made a programme of about 50 pages and sent it to Athens, to IDEKE proposing a way of confronting this...I see adherence to one central programme in SCSs which cannot cover the needs of a SCS in Athens and one in this area. They should have seen it with a broader spirit. I wouldn't say there isn't any understanding by the leadership. Perhaps there is not adequate knowledge of each different place or another behaving. The superiors still insist even in these alternative schools on a standard form of education, this inflexible style that things should be done in the same way in the whole country. It creates a problem to my work....a long experience (7.5).

In a similar way teachers responded differently to exerting influence on policy and shaping their own practice supporting Day and Sachs, (2004), Hudson (2007), Helgoy et al., (2007:200) and Robertson's (2007) 'tectonic shift' in education policy discourse with the regulation and standardisation components on one side of the discourse and devolution, diversity and individualism on the other. This leads to complex and uneven transformations in teacher identities, roles and working lives and implications for effective professional learning and professional practice.

T7 who had the most qualifications related to the rest, made an effort to express a proposal for a solution or for helping the situation but there was no response. As she explained there was adherence to a central programme that could not cover all SCSs all around Greece and that did not cater for fighting illiteracy in an area where the percentages were the highest in the country. That led T7 to the conclusion that there is a great distance between the specific policy of SCSs that promised to solve the illiteracy issue in Greece and dropping out and the real practice teachers had to confront in their everyday life. That keeps a distance between policy making and practice and the question that is brought into consideration is how policy can cause

reform when it does not touch real situations and when it does not solve them, especially when it is a borrowed recipe from Europe that applies to different other contexts but not to the Greek one. It is pretence for politicians to decide by themselves on the basis of what a team of specialists believe is right, based in Athens, and for teachers to be left out of policy formation process and work in the region. It is as if they refuse to listen to the offered solutions that are proposed by the people who are near the problems and work with them. Policy is used as a means of the specific political party to promote their own views of what is considered beneficial for society and not what people really need. It seems that this dimension was kept alive for many decades by Greek politicians imposing a one-fit-size-all policy from Athens without even knowing what each region was really like. It is a central political discourse that never applies to real conditions and that led Greece to the point that it is at the time of writing (spring 2012). The party political system ensured that the focus was not primarily on solving problems but on boasting about which political party did more for its electorate.

8.16.2 Effect in the Region

All teachers of English unanimously agreed that SCSs had a positive effect in all the prefectures. In Komotini, Alexandroupoli, Xanthi, Orestiada and Sapes all teachers who worked in SCSs agreed that it affected positively the minority ethnic women who got out of their houses, came to a place where they were heard and respected, got a certificate and started working. Many of them started their own business. It was a way of integrating groups of people and it was mainly a motive to get out of the home and to get connected with the community. In Drama and Kavala, teachers of English said that the creation of SCSs and their expansion in rural areas in their region was positive because their students continued their studies in vocational Lyceums and that achieved the goal of involving people with LLL as a means of promoting social development. T12 and T16 said that it was impressive that most students came to school every day although they had work and families. T14 elaborated on this thirst for learning and the consequences that SCS had:

> When a student comes and he does not know any English
> or Greek and he finishes school after two years and you

can see that he can express himself and be more sociable,
it is effective. Socialisation is number one. Self-confidence
is developed, self-cognition...Then definitely there is a
positive result (7.6).

T7 talked about students crying at the end of the school year because
they did not want to finish school. T7 stated that it was very positive
but it should have been started earlier. She added: "I hope it will
continue and include other groups of people as well. When you exclude
somebody from education, you exclude him from society, he won't
have a future". T19 said: "The chance was given to people. It made
good to some, some continued, it opened them a door again". The
effect of SCSs was positive in the region and the teachers were
sensitive enough to help the students as much as they could, based on
their good qualities and their ethos, but that caused a lot of inner
dilemmas about what should be done and what was right to be done,
as discussed in 3.8, since no guidance was given by the policy makers
to the specific social issues of minority integration.

The ethical dilemmas revolved around the fact that for the teachers it
was not that simple to distinguish between institutional obligations and
ethical obligations, between 'doing my job' and 'doing the right thing'
as discussed by Ball (2006:148) in 3.8. This internalized reflection is
part of the many issues that teachers have to think of, that led me to
make the image of the Titan Teacher carrying the sphere on his
shoulders as presented below. The extent of their delegated roles was a
matter of concern and confusion to the SCS teachers Cribb in Gewirtz
et al., (2009: 37-39) as presented in 3.8. But before the discussion of
the teachers' professionalization in SCSs let us proceed in how they
perceived the SCS policy in their everyday practice.

8.17 Experience of Teachers in Second Chance Schools in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace

This section is based on data from teachers of English in seven SCSs in
the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace in Northern Greece.
Learning English was an extra burden for the students who had not
mastered their official Greek language. There is certainly an argument
that teachers needed to be specially trained in considering the specifics

of this learning situation as well as the social implications of a multicultural society. The particularities of this region are a reason for my focus upon English teachers here, in addition to my personal interest as a teacher of English. Working in one of the schools in the region both as a teacher and a head teacher I knew from personal experience the difficulties in teaching adults and the distance between real needs and policy decisions. However, other regions would also have had their specific contexts and it is arguable, because of the lack of regional sensitivity within the policy implementation processes, whether other regions' agendas were any better served than Macedonia and Thrace's.

Some policies are abstract and general and they cannot cover specific conditions. The more abstract a policy is the more distant from practice it can be and the less likely it is to be accommodated in unmediated form into the context of practice, in that it will confront 'other realities' or other circumstances. In this case there was no provision for the minority population issue, so the SCS policy covered the adults' need to continue secondary education at a later stage but not how to cover the gap of communication in the Greek language which obstructed learning a second language. As explained in 3.7 teachers have been excluded from policy decisions and reform restructures although the system makes stringent demands on them for greater accountability while they are expected to produce change prescribed by particular policies.

In the case of SCSs the teachers had to fit in the SCS policy by changing themselves through training; the policy did not change according to the local context. The teachers expected someone to deal with their local needs, for example in the case of the Muslim minority, but no policy maker dealt with this issue although it would seem clear that they knew the sensitivity of the case. Instead the policy makers insisted on a general educational policy, Ball's 'a one-size fit them all' policy that would apply to all regions in Greece. Teachers in SCSs expected to be told what to do because they had not been used to reading policy documents unmediated. The innovative policies they were presented with came in contrast to long established habits and to the centralized education system that did not generally allow much initiative. There were different interpretations of the SCS policy simply because certain points were unclear. Up to that moment the centralized

education system had been operating with different expectations of the teachers. Previously, teachers had been expected to be passive and follow the course book in mainstream education; in SCSs they had to be active and autonomous in their teaching, but there was no explanation about how this transformation in their practice could happen.

I would argue that in order to be effective, policies have to touch upon and connect with the individual values of teachers or at least to take their views into consideration. In the case of Macedonia and Thrace there is a contradiction between policy enactment and teachers' reception and interpretation of policy. This raises the question of who should determine educational policy and what role teachers should play in policy processes.

The purposes of education are often contested and, given human diversity and organisational complexity, policies cannot perfectly produce the desired outcomes. For example, most of the temporary staff referred to the difficulty they had with the creation of material for the SCSs. They reported that they used "plenty of material from the all-day primary school" which was not demanding but which offered a way of coping with their difficulty. T14 explained that he could not have high expectations of achievement in the class, but he was glad when the students responded more than earlier because he realized that most of the students were under pressure. Some came to school in their work clothes while some others had to do two jobs to make ends meet. He therefore emphasized engagement and confidence building over achievement of the educational aims that the adult students were working so hard to achieve.

The interviews revealed that permanent and temporary teaching staff had different motives for working in SCSs. Amongst the temporary staff, T3 said "I came to SCSs because I wanted to get away from private education. When I came to SCSs I did not know what exactly they were, I had no training in this field and it was by chance that I started there".T20 explained that she was a little scared at first. Her difficulty was in understanding the students' needs (6.2.1). The motives of permanent staff were rather different. T1 explained that "I

went there because the timetable was convenient". T10 explained that "SCS was a challenge for me. It was a school without books, a view that I endorse". T14 referred to the good climate of the newly established school he worked in "although the setting up of the school was difficult".

There were, therefore, different challenges (6.2.2.2) that teachers of English had to confront that depended on the region where they were teaching, the group of people they had to teach to, the different ages and levels of the students. These challenges included encouraging the students to socialize with one another, the special background of students, as well as regional, linguistic and social diversity; tiredness and their absence, memory problems and the slow rhythm of their learning. Other problems included students who did not believe in themselves, who had the sense that they could not learn so they did not want to participate because they were ashamed they might be ridiculed if they made a mistake. These students needed revised teaching methods and persistence on the part of the teacher. My own experience suggested that lessons needed to be based on doing things, because this was how the students learnt best. Teachers needed to make the lesson interesting and keep students in classrooms, simplifying material where necessary. These were some of the challenges that teachers referred to. T10 and T18 found it challenging to teach different levels of students, with different levels of general and specific knowledge, differences in age and capabilities. There were beginners and advanced students and they had to adapt their teaching by creating material every year, enriching and changing it. T1, T15 and T21 said that it was challenging but rewarding to get things across to people of an older age, encouraging them to speak and feel happy about expressing themselves in English. T16 said that a challenge in SCSs was to help introverted adult students with low self esteem to open up and believe in themselves. That went beyond simply transmitting knowledge of the language. T3 believed that finding ways of keeping the students' interest and participation were a priority because students were not obliged to be there and they were not children to be scolded. T9 elaborated on the issue of management and keeping balance with those who objected and reacted against the sessions without shouting "because they were not kids". She added

"That needs familiarization and definitely some training", a comment that echoes a point powerfully made by Jarvis (2004:142) in chapter three. T15, T21 and T10 elaborated on the difficulties they had with students who did not respond and who showed no interest in learning, who made degrading comments about other students and who came not for knowledge but to take the certificate in order to get a job. That reduced their interest and participation.

T4 said that she felt uncomfortable with older students because it was sometimes difficult for a young teacher to be accepted. T4, T5 and T6 explained that age differences and inconsistent attendance of students was an issue that created problems in their teaching because they had to integrate those missing back into the rhythm of the classroom. EA2 mentioned the absence of an upper age limit of students in SCSs; students could be above eighteen so "There were also issues of age, when the other is 80 or 85 because we heard that too, or 70, students who decided at this age to attend SCSs. Shouldn't they have special lessons?" That created a lot of difficulties in teaching because the classes were not only mixed ability but they needed to work at different speeds to accommodate the wide age range they contained. Shank (1986), (Kuhl, 2000, 2004) Ostrosky-Solis et al., (1998) as discussed in chapter three, supported the view that age has a negative effect in learning particularly when it comes to the auditory aspects of a language.

The teachers also found teaching and methodology challenging. T2 and T12 found it necessary to challenge students' negative dispositions towards foreign language learning, which were based either on previous bad experience or lack of everyday use. T19 and T20 found it challenging that the students had no contact with English so they needed to start from a beginner's level and simplify the lesson. That was combined with the fact that students could not write well in Greek, which affected learning English. They tried to teach and help them how to learn everyday things but found that their level of Greek was bad and English even worse. Differences between the level of writing and speaking, was another issue. As T2 said, the students had difficulty in writing but they could easily speak orally. That was due to the fact that many had stopped having contact with pencil and paper a long time

ago. Many of the teachers found it difficult to handle adult difficulties in learning English. In SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace all three categories of print literacy existed as explained in chapter three by Burt, Peyton, & Schaetzel, (2008). Especially in cases of marginalised who suffered ethnic oppression or who were immigrants that were deprived of educational opportunities as it is the region of Thrace in Eastern Macedonia.

The new curriculum in SCSs was a huge obstacle for some teachers because it left them free to work in any direction they felt was right with no specifications and limitations. The idea was to use the students' life experience but a significant number of teachers did not necessarily know how to do that. However, some other teachers (12) considered the flexibility and the freedom to create their own material, according to the students' needs, as a positive element of SCSs (7.2.2.1). T5, for example, explained that "the flexibility to apply experiential, interactive methods getting away from the pre-defined teaching frameworks" was really important. T15 liked "the fact of flexibility and not having a course book. I could see how much the students responded to the material and I could change it. I progressed according to the students' demands". T2 talked about the different methods and means she could use such as computers. Another positive element that recommended itself to the teachers was the adult students themselves and their enthusiasm to get educated. These were teachers who wanted to experiment and were relatively confident in their own knowledge.

T16 and T17 spoke about external, organizational problems. In 2009-2010 lessons started in SCSs as late as in March, which was disappointing to them. The school in Sapes in 2010-2011 had no head teacher for two months. They commented on the lack of infrastructure, of teachers' training for this special group of students, of teaching material and equipment (not even a single dictionary) and bad payment conditions. As they saw things, a great deal rested on teachers' good will and effort. As it was discussed and supported by Campbell, (1977:58), Mocker and Noble (1981:45-46), Robertson (2000:209-210) in chapter 3.7 the teachers' role combined multiple roles. For teachers in SCSs a synthesis of the above professional identities was a must in order to cope with the hardships of everyday reality in the new field of adult education.

Most of the teachers reported that in the first years of SCSs, there was a positive climate of zeal; they were enthused with the innovation and the freedom to plan their work through considering students' wants and needs, something that did not happen in mainstream education. What T14 liked in SCSs was the thirst to learn by "40 to 50 years old people who came to SCSs having obligations, families, work and health problems, sometimes serious ones; they were conscious learners and most of them knew what they wanted, but not all of them". T16 emphasised as positive "the satisfaction and the shine on students' faces as their self-esteem and self confidence got boosted". T19 considered that this tie with the students was vital. It was their choice to come and learn and they did not try to show a false appreciation.

By the end of the decade, however, the teachers started returning to their public education positions because their interest was worn out by the changes of the system itself and the loss of initial drive. The temporary staff, who got into post at the end of the decade, were not trained and they did not relate strongly to the schools because they knew that they would leave in a little while. The enthusiasm of the first years of SCSs had been diminished. GS3 abandoned the training project abruptly. Training was integral to the professionalization project but he focused exclusively on professionalization through promotion and the salary structure. His focus was on what needed to be done but he did not have an analysis of the situation that allowed him actually to trust the people who worked in SCSs. The military-style approach that he adopted, coming in, checking up on people as if there was supposed to be something fixed in place by that point, ironically encapsulates all the accumulated futile expectations of the teachers who were still waiting for professional development to help them understand what was expected of them.

8.18 Teachers' Views on the Training Sessions

In Eastern Macedonia and Thrace training was provided to teachers from 2003 to 2008 because the schools were established after 2003. As was discussed in ch.7, both permanent and temporary staff were trained at the same time in plenary sessions, informing them generally

about issues that were related to SCSs and in workshops for each subject, provided by IDEKE in Athens or Thessaloniki, depending on the phases of establishment of SCSs between 2000-2008. There were no initial training sessions and no difference was drawn between temporary and permanent staff. For teachers of English, the training meetings were mostly held as in-service training workshops from 2004 to 2008 when there was an English thematic advisor. Before or after that period, training was more generic. Teachers of English accepted training as it was offered to them and they were happy because it was the first time after university that something like that happened.

Some of the permanent seconded teachers, the most experienced English teachers in SCSs in the region of Eastern Macedonia and Thrace said they had attended a number of training meetings that helped them share experiences, material and new ways of teaching. Most of the permanent SCS staff had a special interest in the innovation and they wanted to experiment in this new, challenging school. As T2 stated "you cannot get into SCSs if you haven't been well prepared". Preparation was a personal procedure worked through by each teacher individually. T15 explained that "My background was not enough to face adult lessons because this school was special. I had experience with adults but I was trying to acclimatize to the new conditions. Here in SCSs I was temporary staff and I needed immediate help when the lessons started, before the seminars started." If teachers needed some help they discussed it with their English colleagues; that was a linking thread amongst all teachers, both permanent and temporary staff. The absence of adult theory in this new field is obvious.

Temporary staff had less training or no training at all depending on the period offered and their employment time. They emphasized that there was no initial training and that in-service training was held after lessons had already started in SCSs, although the policy said that training was a priority (GS1). T8 said that "the first seminar was like preaching at a Sunday school to me but I prepared and studied by myself". On the other hand T19 said that "The training helped me but I consider that many things that were told were not realistic". Seven teachers of English who worked after 2008 and had absolutely no training in adult education drew help either from their experienced colleagues, their previous knowledge or teaching experience, and adjusting material as

they thought it was right. Some of them were helped by their headteachers in general issues of adult education. It seems that temporary staff had more difficulties to cope with because they had to work wherever they were deployed to.

Another group of teachers were those who worked after 2008 and who attended the new pilot form of generic blended training of July 2010 (that GS4 presented) through a distance learning programme of 25 hours for all disciplines of SCSs. This was not specifically designed for teachers of English. Temporary T6 said she felt terrible because "I started working in March (2010) and there was a training seminar in July that was already too late. I came all of a sudden in a SCS without any material, without having any training, without knowing what to face, to teach adults. I did not know at first how to talk to them, some were quick-tempered; I didn't know how to stand in class and what my role should be". T17 said "Training did not help me much in teaching in SCSs. I heard things I had already heard. ...it should have been done at the beginning of the year". T18 added that "I had training but it happened at the end of the year. First they should be done before I get into the classroom. I got information from my friends in other SCSs and from my experience in this area. This area needs specific training". T23 agreed with the other teachers "It was generally about adults, their characteristics, theories about adults and we worked on a project (as a way of assessment), each one contributing to the project from the aspect of our own specialty".

Temporary staff needed initial training before they started working in SCSs but training was offered quite late, even at the end of the school year. Focusing on the whole decade it becomes obvious that there was no planned training in relation to teachers' needs and mode of employment. The most immediate support for temporary staff were the English teachers who were working in SCSs and had some experience, which was valued as something precious. T3 explained that "the first year while there were seminars they took place too late. That year I had a difficult time. But then I didn't need anything basic. I managed it myself and with the help of my colleagues". T4 and T5 elaborated on the peculiarity of SCSs as something new that rendered imperative the need for an exceptional preparation on the part of educators who

needed knowledge and guidance. The system relied on the good will of older staff to guide the new ones. T16 emphasized that she was not well prepared and that "Seminars took place long after the beginning of the school year and turned out to be a couple of hours of insufficient talks. Not even a chance of experiential knowledge and experiential learning methods". T14, one of the permanent staff that has been working for many years in SCSs and who attended the old training and the new one, elaborated on the differences. He said:

> Now in relation to the new training (2010), it was general training for educators in SCSs; there were enough known things; I went in case I heard something new but I did not ... it was not only for English teachers (7.8).

Training was conceived as a personal learning procedure combined with practical wisdom during the first phase of the SCSs development. It was developed in a more standardized form in the second phase and cancelled during the third phase. It was reborn into a very structured, impersonal long-distance form at the end of the decade. It did not directly cover the teaching needs or the regional needs but the training offered during the first and second phases of development of SCSs was a good chance for teachers to meet colleagues and exchange experience and solutions from similar cases in schools, promoting the idea of networking and peer-work. However, there was a contradiction between what the teachers needed and expected from the training sessions and what they got. Most interviewed teachers expected practical help and what they received did not cover either their expectations or their practices. They expected to solve their practical day to day problems which concerned management, material creation, adult learning and behaviour problems but they felt that they received no real help. T9, for example, explained:

> I would not say that the training sessions fulfilled my expectations because I expected the advisor to tell us some teaching experience, to show us the organisation of classroom, to show us some audio-visual presentations and to discuss it. I would have liked to see more practical issues. I would like the advisor to come to our region and see the real working conditions...I would like my advisor to be my supporter...or I would like regional English advisors to exist (7.9).

That contrasted with the view expressed by the two EAs who, when asked about teachers' professional identity, talked about the teachers' resistance. The EAs wanted to impose SCSs' theory as they perceived it

was right; they listened to teachers but could offer no solution to everyday practical issues.

T10, who had been in SCSs since 2003, emphasized that the content of the training was mostly exchange of material; there was no specific topic. The training was not at all focused on exploring the challenges of teaching SCS students but only on the creation of material. Both T7 and T10, who had the longest experience in SCSs, adapted the material to a multicultural target group by simplifying it. T10, the most experienced teacher during the decade explained:

> For me a big part of my problems was solved through colleagues. I communicated with e-mails with other SCSs. There was no help from the advisors. The training meetings had the same pattern every time. There was no plan, no speculation. We simply brought our projects and lesson plans and we talked on these....It was good that our view was heard, but I would like to have their position, their view. I expected much more from trainings ...issues were never solved. If they had presented a model of teaching in another country, that would help ...to have a sample of teaching to students (7.9).

According to the literature review in 3.9 there has been significant activity promoting professionalization in the field of adult English as a Second Language instruction (Keevil Harrold, 1995; TESL Canada, 2003; TESOL, 2002, 2003; TESOL Australia, 2003; Brown, 2002; Prabhu, 1990; Richards, 2002). That could be a starting basis for setting substantial training programmes in SCSs.

The inadequacy of professional development opportunities for SCS staff is reflected in the following quotations. T10 depicted the whole situation from the beginning, her expectations from training that reflected the majority view and her reasons for leaving the SCS:

> At first the scientific advisor of the school did not know her role and what to do. Gradually she informed us, she showed projects. The regional advisor did not come very often; he covered a periphery, we did not have a big contact....I emphasised the peculiarity of the region with the Muslims and the immigrants but I got nothing. During the last three years there was no training. If you see the temporary staff, you see that they don't know and behave as if they teach children. We helped them but it was tiring and it needed time. I left SCSs after 7 years. I loved them too much....The school became tiring to me (7.9).

T14 supported the above views, expressed his disappointment and emphasised the practical difficulties teachers had travelling long distances from distant places of Greece for long training sessions in Athens:

> I was asked about the needs of this region and about the minorities but nothing was done about it. There should be some specialist to give us guidelines and instructions. I never asked advice from the English advisors because I was trying...I went there with the hope; I was disappointed...I never got answers. The training methods need improvement, to be shorter and be focused on the disciplines...and to be held regionally. It was tiring to travel from here to Athens or to Thessaloniki...Where is this thing done? (7.9)

T14 also elaborated on the regional issue and what help they got:

> The regional advisor knew our issues and he organised some lecture with ...a Theologician and Turkologist at the Democretian University...he explained to us similarities, differences and cultural differences. That was useful...he gave us methods on how to approach the students through their language to find common points that link us (7.9).

The teachers who came to SCSs wanted to be professionally developed; they came because the SCS policy discourse promised to do that but they ended up disillusioned, drifting back to the public schools with a feeling of abandonment. The distinction between the demands of professionalism versus the lack of professionalization project is a powerful explanation of the paradox or the contradiction that was created in the case of SCS teachers of English.

8.19 Formation of the Curriculum

The first curriculum for SCSs included the same guidelines for teaching both the Greek and the English language. This guidance was controversial and caused a lot of discussion amongst teachers in SCSs from 1999 up to the end of 2003. However, both EAs approved this policy move. EA1 explained why:

> because it is in the framework of a common policy for the languages and not to separate a foreign language from the teaching of the native language. And this [the Greek SCS system] is the only environment that I know where something like that has happened. And I consider that this is very important (6.2.1).

It is interesting to track how this unified language policy had come about, particularly as both supporters and detractors of the policy agreed upon the fact that it was unusual to use the same curriculum framework for both native and foreign language teaching. Two other interviewees, AD3 (GS1's personal assistant and member of the project team of SCSs) and TRO1 (the first training organiser who was an academic) felt that the decision to treat the subjects in this way had been a mistake. AD3 explained how it happened: he had been charged with finding academic support at universities for the SCS curriculum development as the general's advisor (GS1). He was unable to find academic support for creating separate guidelines for the English language and searching for academics was a painstaking effort for him. He said that "We didn't find cooperation for the teaching of the foreign language. I think it needed some other attention at that time which we couldn't give" (AD3, p.5). Because of this practical difficulty, it was suggested that a common framework would suffice since the principles involved were general. AD3 commented "Many times in pedagogy we make necessary reflective adaptations, as the poet says" (AD3, p.5).

TRO1 agreed about the root of the decision to use a common curriculum framework for English and Greek: "I don't think that we took special care of English; for me that was a mistake; because of our own weakness, clearly, for reasons of time and our weakness" (TRO1, p.5). She explained that the scientific team wrote the first guidelines of the SCSs during a summer, working under GS1's pressure to finish them by the schools' starting date in September. EA1 however believed that the curriculum model taken from the Greek subject had been originally developed by a mixed team of English and Greek teachers. Together with EA2, she said that they had adopted 'a bottom-up approach'. They took the old guidelines and kept the common topics that were considered good because they could be cross curricular projects. EA1 added that the content was the result of collective work which they tested in six or seven workshops through the teachers' experience in class, keeping what worked and throwing away what did not. EA1 and EA2 wrote the introduction to the curriculum. EA1 concluded that:

> This was not only a very democratic procedure but it also
> ...came from the educators themselves and it didn't come

out of me sitting in my office...it is the result of collective work? (6.2.1)

So EA1 concluded that the guidelines for English were the result of both their own interventions and the teachers' feedback. The reader could wonder about the demands set on teachers of English so far: teaching adults with a lot of deficiencies and practical difficulties, creating material without any real help just their knowledge and improvisation; changing their stance towards public educational policy, being innovative, creating the curriculum without having the knowledge, the expertise and the right support by the EAs. They had chosen a promised innovative path in public education but they were tangled in the thorns of the public system: policy ambiguities, academic claims of experts but with no real expertise.

Teachers of English expected to be provided with both practical and theoretical orientation. The answers to many emerging questions were left for the teachers to find on their own, often after they had already begun teaching. Equipping the teachers to confront the complexities of language classrooms adequately would imply more successful teaching since more adequately prepared teachers will be more successful teachers. Drawing from the data, they expected to be taught:

- The theoretical principles of effective teaching to adults
- A range of practical skills for teaching English to adult learners
- Hands-on teaching practice
- Building their confidence in the new field of adult education
- Developing a deeper understanding of the English language and how to teach it
- Becoming better at lesson planning by designing their own material adapted to the students' needs
- Presenting new language more effectively through eliciting, timelines and concept checking
- Getting lots of great teaching ideas and incorporating them in their teaching 'toolbox'
- Watching experienced teachers work in the specific field
- Observing and being observed teaching and being given feedback in their own classes
- Getting experience of classroom management and social, cultural, multicultural issues

- Supporting their adult students in their efforts to return to education.

Following the literature review of 3.7 according to Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) as cited in Sachs in Sucrue (2008: 199): there are three conceptions of knowledge associated with teachers' learning: *Knowledge-for-practice, Knowledge-of-practice, Knowledge-in-practice* and *Knowledge of self* added by Day and Sachs (2004). During the workshops of English teachers' training in SCSs, what was offered was an exchange of knowledge-in-practice and of-practice as examples that came from teachers' practice. Teachers were not provided any knowledge-for-practice by the two English Advisors on the subject of teaching English to adults. The new learning prerequisites in knowledge economy, or EU policies, changes in teachers' identity and the effects on SCSs were some other issues, teachers could be informed about. The professionalization of SCS teachers seemed to be characterised by absence of theory in Ball's words.

8.20 support for Second Chance School Policy

Although the opening of SCSs had a positive effect in the region, there were some teachers who had doubts about the practice in SCSs (6.2.2.3). T16 said: "In theory, there was support for SCS policy. However, in practice, things did not develop that way. There are lots of people really in need of a second chance, but it takes more than issuing a decree to proclaim the foundation of SCS. Just wondering, given that there was EU funding for that purpose, where did all that money go?" She drew implications about the organisational and practical level through the eyes of a practitioner. T14 added that:

> There should be better communication with the superior
> authorities: IDEKE and General Secretariat. The personnel
> changes...no immediate contact...there were delays in
> employing temporary staff while SCSs functioned,
> students got disappointed, it had an impact on school,
> you know that (7.7).

T1 emphasised the changes that happened: "During the first years it was very good, we had seminars, we were trained, we met each other and exchanged suggestions, but in recent years funds are not given, seminars are not done, there is no scientific advisor. It depends on the mood of each teacher to do things. The guidelines we used to take

were necessary. I would like SCSs to be at the old level". T23 considered that there should be an upper age limit to enter in SCSs and after a certain age people should attend another structure of IDEKE without taking a certificate. T10 who was in SCSs since 2003 and left in 2010 said:

> I loved SCSs because I created my own programme. That was a catalyst. In recent years we had no secretary at school. That was very important because we the teachers had to do a lot of extra work because the head teacher was alone and we had to share work...School became very tiring for me. I experienced a lot of psychological pressure the last two years something that I did not have during the first year of setting up the school. It is not by chance that eight permanent teachers left altogether from our school. We all left for the same reason... unfortunately we could not do all the work. That affected teaching as well. There was a negative climate pressing on our psychology that did not exist the previous years. ...the public system (7.7).

The practice in SCSs differed from the big plan of the policy and the discourse of caring for illiteracy and dropping out and improving social development. There were plenty of implementation problems as described by teachers and not good contact between central administration and the periphery. In a region with the most acute problems the positive effects came from the teachers themselves who were using their own intuition and their own powers. No immediate solutions were provided by the policy makers or through training. The teachers did what they thought was the right thing for their adult students. Ball (2006) stated that "We tend to begin by assuming the adjustment of teachers and context to policy but not of policy to context. There is a privileging of the policymaker's reality". In the case of SCSs, there was always a team of academics who argued on the interpretation of the borrowed policy but they did not prioritize the needs of the teachers although teachers could implement the new policy. That did not seem to be a priority.

The scientific teams of academics in Greece were the beneficiaries of each political group in office. The first GS wanted to give the power to teachers but although he said so he did not. Rhetoric was used to encourage teachers to get down to work. The idea of Teachers' Voice was acknowledged by GS1 at the beginning of setting up SCSs and things seemed promising to change; later in the middle of the decade it was just heard and no action taken, while afterwards towards the end

of the decade no voice was heard and no action taken. By changing the key players (GSs), by changing policy there was a shift in the volume of voice heard. It was a sparkle of joy when after so many years in mainstream education with no voice, teachers were heard, listened to, collaborated with, and these teachers were willing to bring the change, believed in a new dream and then got disappointed. On the other hand some of the academics exploited the chance to be near innovation and then to write articles and present theories on situations that the academics really had no practical experience.

In my opinion, the simplest and strongest conclusion to draw is that the issue of policy and practice has always been and remains a controversial issue. I believe it is better to start at the bottom line where the educational practices exist in reality, in classrooms, in schools and different institutions. Teachers' words must be listened to, their personal lives and beliefs must be found out and the institutional cultures that they work in must be understood. If their stories, their images, their concerns and ways of thinking, and acting are understood, then teacher education programmes can be devised which will be meaningful and relevant in the every-day language teaching. It is impossible to apply a public policy in all parts of the world but sharing stories of similar context and insights can establish useful connections. The individual story can generate the power of searching into professional theorising and development. This view is supported by Gewirtz et al. (2009:6)

> Any analysis of the policy context of teaching and learning is inevitably going to be informed by an interest in the practices that take place within, are shaped by and shape that context; in order to understand the working lives and identities of teachers we need to pay attention to the climates within which those lives are lived and out of which those identities are constructed;

8.21 The discourse of professionalism

Professionalism in SCSs was caught in the confusion between professional traditions, changing policy and institutional context and relative autonomy but it worked at a surface level and not in an in-depth level that would provide the roots of a new professional paradigm. Teachers wanted to be professional but training did not help them because the level of implementation lacked organisation, theory

and the know-how of expertise. In the case of SCSs the discourse of professionalism was introduced by GS1 as a vital element of establishing and developing the schools but only at the level of discourse, at a level of idealism and not at the level of implementation. There was no reform strategy, no theoretical framework provided for teachers to link with their practical wisdom to move ahead, according to the data from teachers. Teachers were not provided the tools to work with and as the schools increased in number, management and control were lost. That was a policy planning default.

Teachers came into SCSs because they yearned for this promised professionalism that would develop them professionally and do their work well but in the process they realised it was an empty bubble of political discourse that lacked the content. They expected practical workable solutions in their everyday school day that would facilitate teaching and learning of a second language to adults with an acute background in education and helping their integration in society. They expected ways of doing their job the right way by knowing what was right in the specific case but they never received that.

In Greece this effort of professional development of adult educators was one of the first governmental prioritised and organised efforts to create professionally developed adult educators for SCSs but it seemed to miss out important elements of professionalization. Academics were appointed in new roles to help the process of professionalization as experts, but these roles related to their specialisations were not specifically relevant to SCSs. The academic experts were selected to illuminate an innovative field with their knowledge but the needs of SCSs proved the non-existence of specialist knowledge in the field of adult second language learning. They never did any needs analysis of the SCS teachers because 'they' knew what was needed to create a new professional identity. According to the data gathered for this thesis, they were wrong.

In SCSs the teachers had to change completely, to upturn the central way of following orders and be autonomous teachers, creating their own material, implementing an innovation in a new field with its own specificities and with no special support and theoretical framework. Through the policy discourse they were urged to participate in a new,

different venture in an alternative school that they should be proud of. But they never reached the end of the promised development. They were deprofessionalised but never reprofessionalised.

Within the frame of global thinking of professionalism, of ideological advocacy, management and direction of teachers' work as supported by Jones in Gewirtz et al. (2009:56) in 3.8, Greek policy makers borrowed SCSs policy as part of the bigger European LLL policy and were affected in reforming not only folk education into adult education but teachers' professional identity, borrowing training procedures at a theoretical level or at the ideal level. As we have seen, although GS1 valued the 'practical wisdom' of teachers in SCSs and raised adult educators' expectations they disappointed them at the level of implementation. Teachers were deskilled but not reskilled, thus missing the chance to acquire a new professional identity.

The SCSs' discourse of professionalism was imposed 'from above' where an effort was made to reform the occupational identity of teachers as a means to promote public adult education, as it was explained by Evetts (in Gewirtz et al., 2009:22) in 3.8. Evetts supports the view that professionalism is used as a powerful mechanism to promote occupational change and social control by using the appeal of its discourse as part of an ideology that includes ownership of an area of expertise, autonomy and occupational control but in reality things are different. The above point agrees with the intentions of the policy in SCSs where professionalism discourse had an appeal to teachers by giving them the authority to decide what was the best teaching practice, autonomy that was absent up to that time in mainstream education where the teachers originated. But in the process of the policy development and the political situation things came to a dead end as was seen above. The SCS policy aimed at reforming teachers by providing a new model of professionalism at the level of the policy discourse. The first GS wanted the teachers to have voice, to participate in new learning but the implementation stage was unsuccessful because it did not provide an ideology, a theory that would be the basis for developing the teachers' expertise, their autonomy and their power in order to help adult students. There was a huge requirement and a huge expectation about the professionalism of teachers from the first two GSs. The GSs expected that teachers would

be able to adapt to the new age group, make transitions to a different sector, create a curriculum that was based on teachers' practical wisdom, craft knowledge, and understand the theories. There was an enormous expectation and professional burden on the teachers. Resulting from the analysis of data, my analysis is that teachers should take into consideration all the notions I developed on the Titan model (below) of modern demands of the knowledge economy as well as certain types of knowledge.

At the same time the professionalization project did not really get going. The professionalization that set to support the development and instantiation of this professionalism was done in the old way. It was not actually about devolving; about having autonomous professionals as they were needed in the case of SCSs. Professionalism should be based on the notion that teachers can be trusted to create a context related curriculum that is meaningful, that can make the connection between what adults are learning and the prerequisites of a certified level programme. The curriculum presented a complex issue and there was nothing really helpful for teachers. Teachers were required to do far too many things in faraway places, in new buildings, sharing offices and classrooms with other schools, not feeling comfortable with offered facilities but still having to do their professional task the best way.

Part of professionalism is career progression which was not recognised in the SCS case. The government expected huge amounts of professionalism; some of the GSs (GS1 and GS2) understood the need for training, they talked about the professionalization project of how to give teachers the status to do this and bring them together. But the data from my study suggests that it is more about rhetoric than reality and the models that they have for facilitating this training are the usual ones of academics from the university. These academics do not know about the actual nature of the knowledge, that the professional knowledge they are imparting is redundant, irrelevant; that they impose a language and they do not unpack it.

On the other hand the discourse of professionalism is not restricted only to managers in work organisations but it can be used as a discourse of self-control or as an ideology that promotes self-motivation, moral commitment in the work and to the needs and

demands of the students. A problem for Greece is that the civil service has not been professionalised. Many public servants feel insecure in their jobs and resist change. The failure of the professionalization of teachers in SCSs can be seen in relation to this. As a result, on one hand, there were the teachers' expectations of professionalism and on the other hand, the professionalization project did not really take off. It stayed at the rhetoric level and so the teachers were left de-skilled rather than re-skilled by the professionalization project. They were de-skilled by being put in a new context where their hearts were there as everyone accepts they need to be but they did not have the skills or the knowledge needed in the field. At the same time there was the notion of experts and expert knowledge in the field built into hierarchies within the system which seemed quite complex. The teachers' expectations of having new knowledge were not fulfilled.

So the processes were out of kilter and the rhetoric that went with it, as has been seen earlier in the chapter, left the teachers in a space where they were trying to learn from one another. Gradually the funding sources dried up and then teachers saw they were actually being abandoned as the situation deteriorated. Greece provides an example for other countries interested in SCSs. It demonstrates the need for birth agendas, for concern with the professionalization of tutors, for progression opportunities and or a proper understanding of the knowledge required. In the end you need a teacher to act as an autonomous professional, especially in a SCS. You need to be able to trust teachers to judge what knowledge is needed and how to manage racial. Autonomous people need the knowledge, and they need a realistic level of pay. They need a proper chance of professional development and they need to be mentally fed, otherwise they feel they are exploited, abandoned and put in an impossible situation. At the end of the decade the data gave the image of abandonment, people moving away and the last ones left standing trying to do something because they knew it was a good thing they should try to do. The fact was that all the politicians knew this was something that the teachers were ready to take on because they wanted to do it. The sense of abandonment, both psychological and emotional, is greater when you have devoted yourself to a cause you believe in and then you are left high and dry. The depth of the upset and alienation and abandonment

the teachers feel caused justifiable anger because of their investment in the project of SCSs.
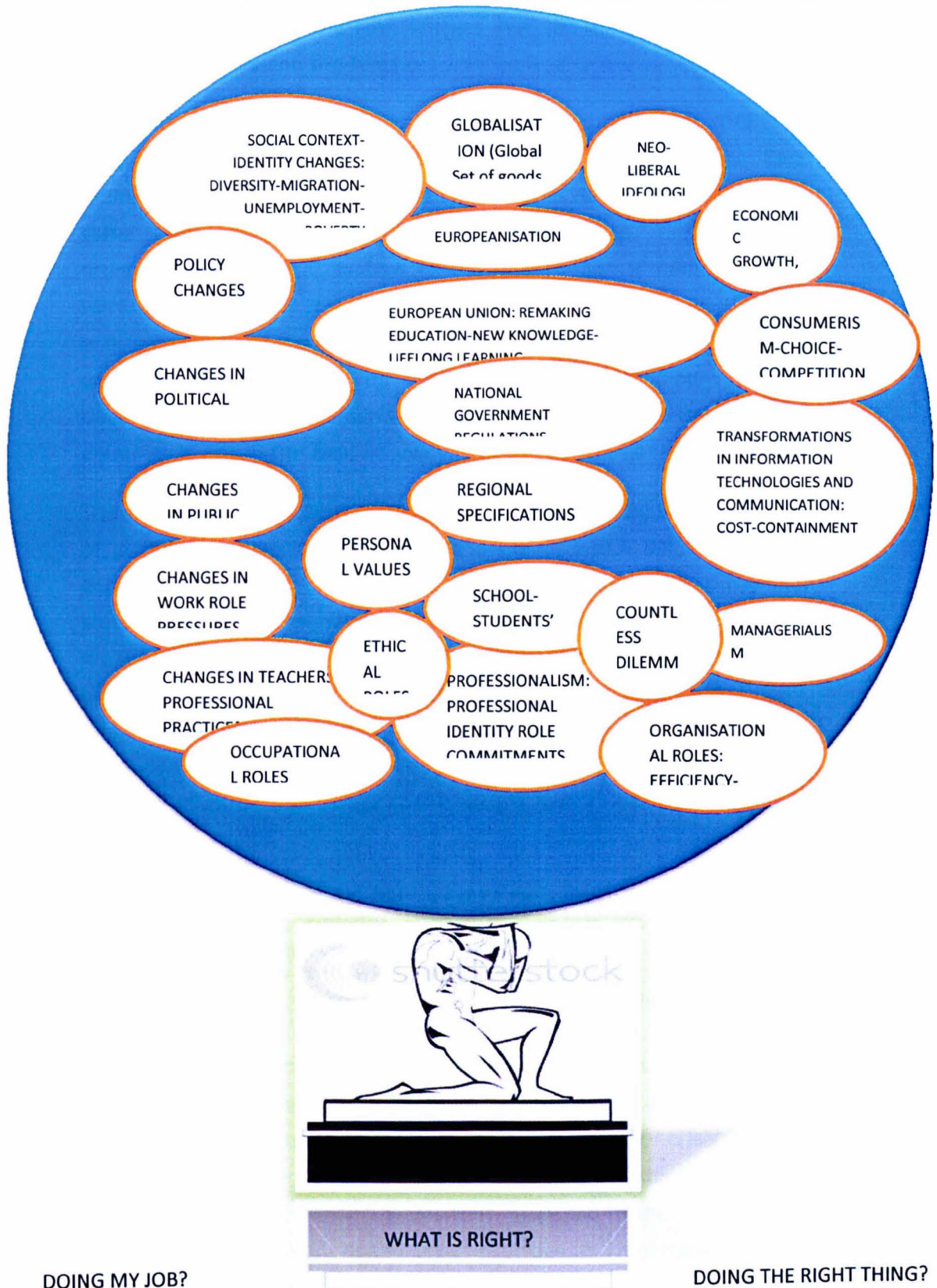
In Summary

It seems clear that all the important issues in SCSs such as teaching adult students, employing teachers late, training them late, teachers becoming the trainers by exchanging their own practices, not getting answers about everyday problems related to behaviour, management, teaching methods, absence of theory, practical difficulties, multicultural issues in the specific region, were not solved by the policy makers during the whole decade. The data received through the teachers' interviews shows the great gap between what SCSs were apparently to offer and what they actually delivered. The temporary staff were employed for nine to six hours per week and without training they had to cope with all kinds of problems: implementation problems, practical problems, methodology problems, learning problems, teaching problems, creating the curriculum, creating material and having a big heart for the socially deprived who were to be reintegrated in education. Additionally they had to cope with regional differences and peculiarities of multicultural minorities for those who worked in one of the neediest education regions. They could not get help because the advisors were simply attending to how teachers coped with the problems in class and reporting back to administration.

The work of these teachers was and remains Titanic work (depicted in the image of the Titan Teacher below). They had to carry all those impositions and ambiguities of policy making that contained fine words and promises of innovation but in reality it was the frustration of theories of globalisation and Europeanisation hastily adapted or not even adapted to the local context. Greek policy makers thought that by borrowing LLL projects intact they would be successful and impressive in their political work. Working in depth, restructuring the basis of adult education in real conditions and time, organising well every detail of the innovation or the reform to be implemented is the source of development. The data from this research shows that the gulf between the policy discourse and the reality of SCSs was a gulf in which significant amounts of European funding was absorbed.

The specific case study of adult educators' professionalism in SCSs in Greece was a journey of many interpretations and misunderstandings of movements of new policies in the field of adult education. Implementation of European affected policies at the national level remains the main challenge of today's world of education in Greece. A sharp dissonance is perceived among teacher professional development policies at the European institutional level and the hastiness, the contradiction and diversity of processes and contexts at the national level of policies and politics that are characterised by uncertainty and a sluggish pace. Politics, bureaucracy, administrative issues, funding, deficient knowledge and infrastructure in teacher professional development represent major hurdles within nations like Greece in spite of the predominant European discourse on quality in education and the transformation of teachers' competencies. The teachers are among contradictory forces of European demand, national requests and self-fulfilment among 'diverse points of view, uncertainties and the multiplicity of relationships between teaching, training, schooling, learning, actors and contexts' (Caena and Margiotta, 2010:328). It is what Cochran-Smith, (2005) called 'the curse of complexity'.

Table 8.1 On the Shoulders of the Teachers of Adult Education: A Titanic Project

ON THE SHOULDERS OF THE TEACHERS OF ADULT EDUCATION: A TITANIC PROJECT

SOCIAL CONTEXT-IDENTITY CHANGES: DIVERSITY-MIGRATION-UNEMPLOYMENT-

GLOBALISATION (Global Set of goods

NEO-LIBERAL IDEOLOGI

ECONOMIC GROWTH,

EUROPEANISATION

POLICY CHANGES

EUROPEAN UNION: REMAKING EDUCATION-NEW KNOWLEDGE-LIFELONG LEARNING

CONSUMERISM-CHOICE-COMPETITION

CHANGES IN POLITICAL

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS

CHANGES IN PUBLIC

REGIONAL SPECIFICATIONS

TRANSFORMATIONS IN INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES AND COMMUNICATION: COST-CONTAINMENT

PERSONAL VALUES

CHANGES IN WORK ROLE PRESSURES

SCHOOL-STUDENTS'

COUNTLESS DILEMM

MANAGERIALISM

ETHICAL ROLES

CHANGES IN TEACHERS PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

PROFESSIONALISM: PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY ROLE COMMITMENTS

ORGANISATIONAL ROLES: EFFICIENCY-

OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

WHAT IS RIGHT?

DOING MY JOB?   DOING THE RIGHT THING?

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Certain conclusions were drawn from the analysis of this study that might be useful to all the stakeholders involved in the policy of SCSs, the policy makers and the teachers who worked or are still working.

The EU and the unification of policies in all its member states cannot be implemented and generalised in all nations in the same way. Each member state has got different starting points in development, in the same issue of education, different infrastructures, deficiencies in organisation, a central system of governance and a non-specialised workforce that needs training in administration. The implementation of policies can meet obstacles and it is the character, the personality of each country, its habits, its vision, the general tendency towards development, its pace of following innovations that can be the inhibition points as it was in the case of policy of SCSs, as part of LLL.

The EU aimed at the development of a strong union against the power of global forces such as the USA and China, which set the pace of economic growth. It did not consider the pace of the weak member states such as Greece, which have a different rhythm of development. Weaker states have to make double strides to cover the distance between really developed countries within Europe, such as Germany, England and Finland. Being funded was not enough to cover this distance of development for Greece. GS2 emphasised the need for speed in ch.6, section 1, but Greek people follow their own rhythm in innovations:

> this is valid for all the Greeks, for everybody, in the overwhelming majority, everybody has this tendency [to drag their feet about implementing innovation] and I can attribute it to this: when some have learnt to run at ten km and you make them run at thirty they get out of breath.

That point is connected to the present economic crisis of 2009 within which this study was conducted. Greeks responded to it but they were late in their response. They were moved when the crisis had an immediate effect on their personal budget, the reduction of their salaries and the strenuous changes that happened to them. So what is suggested is that the European Union provides its know-how expertise to such countries that do not have the knowledge to implement reforms

rather than just lend to them and impose their changes. That would be more effective.

The historical background of each country and the repercussions of wars drew Greece back a few decades in relation to other European countries. Greece needed a developmental strategy that was not offered by the politicians. The economic growth of the country was not rooted on solid ground. Reformation efforts have been made to improve the educational system but not the basis of it. Apart from politics, empty national funds were responsible for not helping the country to stand on its feet and develop education. That might explain why the country was left unwired and some decades behind other European countries with no electronic archives in administration, in economic services, in education services that led to an absence of monitoring and a tendency for corruption. Funding was never enough to rebuild the system in depth.

Furthermore, the above points could explain the reason why European funding was so important to the Greek government. It created hope for improving the conditions that needed change and it really set up the axes of innovation in technology, and in education. That might also explain the need of GS1 to absorb European funding and give priority in setting up SCSs so hastily. There was a great need to develop sections of the country and the EU gave the means to do it but it did not give the know-how and the policy was adopted as designed for other countries. Trying to implement it, without adjusting it to the local context caused problems in each turn.

Policies should always be adapted to the national and local context, taking into consideration the specificities of each region and not trying to impose a unified policy based on Athens with all the characteristics of a big central city. In the rural regions in the north or in the south where certain problems are acute, problems need solving by really looking at them.

Policies should solve problems by calling representatives from all levels of society so that all views can be heard, all needs can be noted, all possible solutions can be discussed and then policy makers can proceed to the political decisions. Healthy democratic procedures should be followed and not left to political priorities of the elected political groups

which appoint people to key positions based on political identity, as GS2 said, and sometimes without having the right qualifications. Then the country sooner or later is led to destruction as happened to Greece. Politics and policy are interrelated and they have a power that can be either beneficial or destructive. When policy becomes the 'whore' of politicians then there is always a negative result. In recent years, all around the world but more specifically in Greece, policy has acquired this tendency of saying something that in reality is not true. It is like a big bubble that creates prospects and when it bursts it leaves a bitter taste and that is because the policy discourse does not overlap with reality; it does not touch reality; it does not solve problems; it makes the gap between policy makers and representatives of the government even bigger.

The discourse of second chance education and Life-Long learning hides a paradox. Have the people improved their life after a decade when an economic crisis hit Greece and left them motionless in the fusion of global changes without having the power to fight? Could adult education really include people in society when the economic system excluded them from the possibility of having the right to fight for a better life? Education was used as a pendulum of growth. SCSs fuelled people's hidden ambitions of continuing basic secondary education and gave hope for a better chance to uneducated people at the beginning of the 21st century only to disappoint them a decade later because the step that they made forward was nothing contrasted to the imposed global changes of the 'knowledge society' with its globalised technologies. They would never afford education in a new era when quality education has to be paid for by individuals; when the country is at the brink of bankruptcy and lack of employment opportunities lead people back to the point that they started from: the lower level of society, powerless in the face of political decisions.

In addition to the above points, leadership plays a very important role in making decisions and in implementing innovations, while the administrative staff can have a helping or distracting role. For innovations and reforms to be successful, a combination of a well-working system of leaders, administrative staff and stakeholders at all levels should exist in a cooperative, trustworthy climate. When people

believe in an inspiring leader, or an improvement project, then they are willing to work hard and produce results.

Additionally, political stability is vital in the implementation of reforms, especially in Greece where, as it was referred to in 7.2, when there is a political change it is not only people that change but decisions and laws too. Although Greece was the generator of democratic political systems in its ancient history, it seems that nowadays it is undergoing a process of powerful individualization, a segmentation of political power or a selfish seeking after political recognition and power. That leads to the fragmentation of the political power in the prey of the political parties which raid the national interest and profit for their own fans. The national benefit conscience has been destroyed or reduced after a long period of political arrogance and individualization. There is no common sense at the political level and this dislocation of common values is quite obvious in the specific case of SCSs, where it was promised that people would achieve their deep hidden needs and desires to be educated but when they started coming to education they got disappointed by not being taken care of.

In relation to the professional development of teachers of English in Greece, there should be a public system of providing options of development on all shifts and changes in teaching methodology of the English language, with frequent visits to England and the USA if possible. The English language is the most important language globally and it changes. Teachers should be able to attend to these changes through training. Especially in Greece, after university there is no such provision for teachers of English working in mainstream education and that registers them stale or non-progressive. It depends on their willingness and their personal budget to develop their career based on self-improvement, something that does not go in parallel with the globalization and Europeanisation notions of development of language teachers. Developing their professional identity would improve mainstream education too.

In relation to adult education and all structures of LLL there should be a training sector in IDEKE or run by IDEKE similar to the one organised but not implemented by GS2. This would contain a register of adult educators who would be obliged to attend to adult education theories,

how adults learn, how to cope with their learning difficulties, the characteristics of adult learners, special groups of learners and how to cope with them and that would be a pool of employing teachers. At the same time there should be an accredited system of training with specific credits for each course that would be repeated many times during the year. This would allow for a sustainable programme that need not be disrupted by political change. SCSs are the only one of the adult education structures that provides a formal certificate of mainstream education for those who either dropped out or who never finished basic nine years secondary education. That sets specific prerequisites for teachers, so apart from attending a general programme of CPD for adult teachers, teachers in SCSs should have personal contact meetings in each region to be informed about regional problems that they should know about and ways of facing them. That would be more relevant to their work and much more effective. T3 commented that: "Training should be held at a regional level. Teachers need another type of information based on the peculiarities of each prefecture. The head teacher could help in that direction".T2 said that in SCSs, teachers should gather together and cooperate. She added that what was important was the personal contact not only with the teachers but with the students too. The differences and the peculiarities of SCSs should be understood in all aspects. As it was seen from the data, teachers were always willing and expecting to learn and solve such problems and they valued personal contact and exchange of ideas. In relation to teaching English, there could be an advisor in the region who would have personal contact with the teachers of English, attend their teaching and provide feedback for the students and the teachers as well, organise observation sessions among them in order to have real time teaching and exchange of ideas and discussion. When feedback is relevant to your work the advice is more helpful and whatever resistance you might have resolves after being discussed in a friendly way and among peers. At the same time the English advisor could provide exemplary teaching sessions in real classes as a specialist and new theories related to English teaching. Teachers said they would like to attend teaching inside a classroom, with natural lessons and not theories. T6 said "We are full of theories". Teachers need practical things.T6, T9 and T20 suggested having an advisor who would be an immediate contact because it was unfamiliar for them to manage

adults, as well as methods of teaching, teaching approaches and technology in classroom, in the framework of SCSs.

The creation of a social-collegial network would be the connecting link among the older and the newest staff and the exchange of worries, views and material. Online professional development options would be quite convenient but impersonal and everybody valued personal contact and interpersonal relationships. They said that the important thing was to meet other teachers and to exchange views and experience. Sachs in Sugrue (2008:202) and Leadbeater, (1999) advocated that learning communities contribute to new forms of teacher professionalism where it is essential to commit to learning and improve practice as well as provide legitimate opportunities for practice and robust discussions about education policy and practice.

In-school meetings would be an additional way of coping with difficult psychological situations and specific difficult cases of students, enriched by specialists in the field, psychologists or local advisors.

Training and employment should be combined. Those of temporary staff who got trained should be in a separate list who would be a step ahead for being employed again in SCSs. There was no overlapping of these two points and there were cases of people having been trained and not employed, while in others they had been employed without having been trained. Initial training should always happen before SCSs start working in September of each year. All temporary teachers of English (T3, T8, T9, T16, T19) said that they should be employed as permanent teaching staff, not hourly teachers that come and go every year. Their conditions of employment did not allow them to set long term goals. This is a point that coincides with the professional identity of adult teachers and the requirements of becoming a respectable occupation as it deserves to be.

The specific research discovered problems that existed in the Greek public system for many years. Hopefully the disseminated results and conclusions of the study might have an effect in giving a clear view of the situation in an aspect of Greek adult education and in teaching English to adults more specifically. It raises concerns about the different levels of policy and practice and it proposes that the policy makers should ensure that teachers' views inform development.

Teachers should have the power to make innovations a reality because they know how but they need support in doing that. They cannot keep the burden on their back of all the forces of all the institutional obligations and ethical obligations, wrestling with these dilemmas between 'doing my job' and 'doing the right thing' (Cribb in Gewirtz et al., (2009: 37-39) as the Titans in a titanic project.

In relation to my last three research questions that dealt with the experience of teachers of English in SCSs, the professional support they had and the relevant theories and pedagogy they used, I would like to add that: teachers remained frustrated by the gap between their expectations of a unique adult education experience different from mainstream education and its reality. They made real efforts to understand and interpret the SCS policy taking into consideration their own practical teaching needs, their students' needs and the regional differences. They did not get immediate help from the centrally governed service (IDEKE) although the administrators worked hard in that direction, with communication problems due to distance. The regional specifications could not be understood by policy makers and administrators and the general planning of the SCS policy could not cover all areas, resulting in different interpretations and understanding of it.

Teachers experimented in teaching adults drawing from their own experience and knowledge and not based on the adult and language learning theories that were presented to them, resulting in an empty theoretical framework for them. Training was presented as professional development in the policy discourse but it contradicted the reality of bits and pieces of working with projects or group work and the creation of teaching material based on the creativity of teachers and not on certain criteria.

Professional support was offered according to the generic plan of funding and not based on the real needs of teachers and the difficulties of teaching in a new field. The academics chosen to implement the professional support for SCS teachers drew knowledge from their own field of specialization, not always relevant to the teachers' needs. The curriculum design of SCSs, the creation of material, assessing students

in innovative ways, understanding sensitive groups of students were issues that demanded more attention for working in these schools.

In conclusion, the teachers had to carry the burden of the implementation of an innovation expecting to be developed and become autonomous in the new field of SCSs during the whole decade 2000-2010. Unfortunately, they were disillusioned and disappointed because educational policies in Greece raise expectations but do not always get realized due to political upheavals, changes, unsteadiness and the absence of consistently coherent policies for the improvement of education.

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http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/2chance/indexen.html

http://www.e2c-europe.org E2C-Europe

http://www.ekep.gr/Education/deuteris.asp;

www.doe.gr National Statistical Service of Greece (ESYE)

www.ypepth.gr/docs/4_1_07_sxoliki_diarroi.doc

www.eurydice.org

https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php/Greece:
Adult_Education_and_Training 05-12-11

http://www.gsae.edu.gr

www.komvos.edu.gr/glwssa/odigos/thema-e1/s.1basic.htm.

http://www.ideke.edu.gr/sde/nomos.htm accessed on 14/7/2006
article 8.3

http://www.enl.auth.gr/

http://www.enl.uoa.gr/

http://archive.minedu.gov.gr/el_ec_pagesst1045.htm

www.ypepth.gr/docs/4_1_07_sxoliki_diarroi.doc

http://www.ekep.gr/Education/deuteris.asp

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Training Sessions of Teachers at SCSs

Training Sessions of Second Chance School Educators from 2003-2007

DATES	VENUE
6&7/11/2004	Athens
13&14/11/2004	Thessaloniki
28&29/01/2005	Athens
4 & 5-2-2005	Patra
18&19/03/2005	Patra
11&12/04/2005	Athens
27&28/05/2005	Athens
10&11/06/2005	Patra
28&29/06/2005	Athens
10-12/03/2006	Athens
17-19/03/2006	Thessaloniki
27-28/03/2006	Athens
7&8/04/2006	Athens
9&10/04/2006	Thessaloniki
13&14/04/2006	Thessaloniki
12&13/05/2006	Athens
23&24/06/2006	Athens
12-13/01/2007	Athens
13-14/01/2007	Athens

19-20/01/2007	Thessaloniki
2-3/02/2007	Thessaloniki
9-10/02/2007	Athens
2&3/03/2007	Athens
16-17/03/2007	Athens
30-31/03/2007	Thessaloniki
20-21/04/2007	Thessaloniki
20-21/04/2007	Thessaloniki
22&23/06/2007	Athens

Topics Repeated in Phases of Implementation of Second Chance Schools

Initial Training Meeting Topics of Second Chance School educators, of A, B, C phases.

- The institution of Second Chance Schools: The European and the Greek experience.
- The curriculum of SCSs and multi-literacies.
- The curriculum of SCSs.
- The meaning of multi-literacies at SCSs.
- Workshops according to literacy.
- The physiognomy and the role of the educator at SCSs.
- The pedagogic physiognomy of the educator at SCS.
- The role of the psychologist at SCSs.
- The role of the career advisor at SCSs.
- Workshops according to literacy.
- The teaching-learning process at SCSs.
- Cross-curricular projects and projects at SCSs.
- The process of evaluation of students at SCSs.
- The teaching-learning process at SCSs: from the face-to face teaching to the experiential-participatory learning.
- E M.M.E. sa (acronym meaning: indirectly).
- Heart's geometry.
- Household Treasure.
- In-service Training: An alternative suggestion for the exploitation of the educational forces of the school unit.
- In-service Training at SCSs and New Technologies.
- Workshops according to literacy: introduction- interaction.
- Workshops according to literacy: Suggestions- ideas of implementing in-service training.
- Workshops according to literacy: Teaching approach of the cognitive objects.
- Workshops according to literacy: elaboration and production of educational material.
- Educating adult students at SCS.
- Discussion.
- Plenary session-Conclusions.

First training meeting of Second Chance School educators, "Teaching Approaches & Educational Techniques of activating the students' participation at SCSs"

Plenary session:

- "Educational activation techniques of SCS students' interest and participation".
- "Characteristics of SCS students' at SCSs- 'Difficult' participants- Confronting Techniques".
- "Confronting the negative stance of students to get involved in the learning activities: confrontation at the level of class and at the level of students".
- "The teaching-learning process at SCSs: Capabilities-Problems- Perspectives".
- "Planning-Organisation and implementation of a teaching unit at the arithmetic literacy".
- Workshops according to literacy.
- "The role of workshops at SCSs".
- "School workshops at SCSs: Contradiction or Necessity?"
- "The many-sided development of students through a construction workshop (an experiential impression from the operation of workshops at Pirgos SCS)".
- Workshops according to literacy: Introduction- interaction.
- Suggestions- Ideas of implementing in-service training.
- Elaboration and production of educational material.
- Conclusions-Evaluation.

First training meeting of Second Chance School educators, of D, E, F phases.

- Evaluation at SCSs: Sheet of descriptive evaluation, self- evaluation of the students.
- Planning-implementation of cross-curricular projects and projects at SCSs: From the teaching of the cognitive object towards a holistic approach of knowledge.
- Mixed Workshops: Descriptive evaluation: Sheet of Evaluation, Self-evaluation of students.
- Workshops according to literacy: Teaching approach of the cognitive objects.

- Mixed Workshops: Planning-implementation of projects, cross-curricular projects- The development of social skills of the students through the holistic-cross-curricular approach of knowledge.

- Workshops according to literacy: elaboration and production of educational material.

- Plenary session-Conclusions of the mixed workshops.

- The special characteristics of adult educators and their involvement into the learning process.

- Archimedes: A cross-scientific project for acquiring social skills at SCSs.

- Workshops according to literacy: Non-formal and informal types of teaching approaches of the cognitive objects in adult education. Good practices for self-active participation of the students in the production of new knowledge.

- Workshops according to literacy: Non-formal types of evaluation in adult education. Good practices of familiarizing the students with non arithmetic types of evaluation and self-evaluation.

- Obstacles in the implementation of active techniques of educating adult students at SCSs.

- In parallel to the above workshops there was a workshop for the educators at the SCS of Koridallos and Diavaton relative to the education in prisons.

- The project method at SCSs: From theory to practice.

- Workshops according to literacy: Planning-implementation of projects and cross-curricular projects, workshops-The development of social skills of students through the holistic-cross-curricular approach to knowledge.

- Learning resistance in adult students, experiential learning and detonation of conflict within the framework of learning process at SCSs.

- I discover myself- I get conscious of my needs-fulfil my aims.

- Meeting of the members of the scientific team of SCSs with the periphery Advisors of Education, head-teachers and the project team of SCSs.

- Mixed Workshops: Interaction and communication: obtuseness (blunting) of learning resistance- search of factors and ways of intervention.

- Mixed Workshops: Interaction and communication: The role of the educator as a member of the team- search of factors and ways of intervention.
- Plenary session- Discussion-Conclusions of the mixed workshops and general conclusions.

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Second Training Meeting of Educators of SCSs of B, C, D, F phases: 1) Evaluation of students at SCSs, 2) Projects at SCSs

- Pedagogic practice of success: The descriptive evaluation at SCSs.
- The case of SCS of Koridallos.
- Portfolio: Basic tool for the evaluation of students at SCSs.
- The student's portfolio as a tool of his evaluation.
- Workshops according to literacy.
- Planning, implementation, evaluation of projects during the learning process at SCS.
- The project as a pedagogic and teaching practice at SCS. Planning and Evaluation.
- A project at SCS of Aharnes with the topic: Recycling paper.
- Workshops according to literacy.
- Descriptive Evaluation at SCSs: Thoughts and speculations.
- The Transition from the knowledge school to the face school: social skills-life skills.
- Discussion.
- Mixed Workshops: Descriptive evaluation: Sheet of Evaluation, Title of studies, Self-evaluation of students.
- Workshops according to literacy: Teaching approach of the cognitive objects.
- Mixed Workshops: Planning-implementation of projects, cross-curricular projects- The development of social skills of the students through the holistic-cross-curricular approach of knowledge.
- Workshops according to literacy: elaboration and production of educational material.
- Special characteristics of the adult student and their involvement in the educational process.
- Workshops according to literacy: Teaching approach of the cognitive objects.
- Workshops according to literacy: elaboration and production of educational material.
- Plenary session-Conclusions.
- The group-cooperative teaching at SCSs.
- The group-cooperative teaching: General Directions and

Practical Applications at SCSs.

- Mixed Workshops: The group-cooperative teaching: Critical consideration of the group-cooperative learning, criteria of the composition of the group, confrontation of conflicts within the framework of the group operation.

- Activities within the framework of projects and workshops at SCS of Kalamata.

- Organisation of cross-curricular projects and operation of workshops in SCS of Kalamata-Introduction.

- The position of woman and man as it is shown in the Greek songs from 50s until now.

- Genetic Variety- The uniqueness and the separate value of each individual.

- Workshop of stamping writing Gramic B on clay.

- In-service training: An alternative suggestion for the exploitation of the educational forces of a school unit.

- Workshops according to literacy: Non-formal and informal types of teaching approaches of the cognitive objects in adult education. Good practices for self-active participation of the students in the production of new knowledge.

- Workshops according to literacy: Non-formal and informal types of evaluation in adult education. Good practices of familiarizing the students with non arithmetic types of evaluation and self-evaluation.

- Workshops according to literacy: Planning-implementation of projects and cross-curricular projects, workshops-The development of social skills of students through the holistic-cross-curricular approach to knowledge.

- In parallel to the above workshops there was be a workshop for the educators at the SCS of Koridallos prison relative to the education in prisons.

- The importance of forming a learning contract in adult education & a description of activities for the formation of such a contract at SCSs.

- Workshops according to literacy: In-service training as an alternative supporting procedure of the educational work of educators at SCSs.

- Planning studies at SCS with cross-curricular elements. A

practice of SCS of Larissa.

- The teachers' union as a work team: Framework of implementing in-service training.
- Workshops according to literacy: Teaching approaches of the cognitive objects for each speciality. Good practices of active participatory learning.
- Workshops according to literacy: Framework-suggestions for in-service training.
- Plenary session-Conclusions.

Third Training Meeting of the educators at SCSs: The group dynamic at SCSs

- The group dynamic at SCSs: Definition of the group-group stages-configuration.
- The dynamics of the class group-interaction-communication.
- Alteration of the group dynamics- Sources of energy of the group.
- Mixed workshops: The process of configuration and development of the students groups.
- Mixed Workshops: Cooperation and communication of the group of educators-head-teachers-Advisors in the community of SCSs. From the formal to the innovative framework of operation of SCSs.
- Workshops according to literacy.
- Plenary session- Conclusions.

A summative meeting of educators of SCSs of B phase

- An overall presentation of the route of operation of SCSs by the Team of the Project of SCSs.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Ag. Anargiron SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Aliveri SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Trikalon SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Karditsas SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Lamias SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Orhomenou SCS.

- A presentation of the route of operation of Peiraia SCS.
- A presentation of the route of operation of Amfissa SCS.
- The route of Training of SCSs during the school year 2004-2005. Conclusions and Perspectives.
- The route of organisation at SCSs and the training sessions 2004-2006. Conclusions and Perspectives.
- Literacies and SCSs in Greece (2000-2006): Searching the terms and the limits of a theoretical framework.
- SCSs and adult education: research approaches-Speculation-suggestions.
- Discussion.
- **Working at SCSs as educators**
- Patra SCS.
- The educational meetings at the SCS of Ioanninon; a place of educators' meeting and their composition in new persons. An experiential action(2003-2006) SCS of Ioannina.
- Reception procedures of the new students at the SCS of Koridallos (prison).
- Six years of SCS-Basic elements of effective operation-Suggestions for the Future.
- SCS of Peristeri.
- Life-Long Learning, Students' Views for the institution of SCSs. SCS of Koridallos (prison).
- Discussion.

Good Practices in the framework of literacy teaching and the greater activities of SCSs

- Poster, Card, Spot: Workshop at SCS of Neapoli.
- The tele-communications of ancient Greeks. Myth and Reality. SCS of Pirgos.
- Water-multi-thematic project- The SCS of Ierapetra in cooperation with schools, teams and conveyors of the city. The SCS of Ierapetra.
- On a bike through the literacies. SCS of Agrinio.
- A different approach in learning mathematics. SCS of Tilisos.
- Discussion (In parallel to the above presentations there is an exhibition of a project of the union of educators of SCS of Ioanninon "The colour in our life-a cross-curricular approach.

- Melodized Poetry: Acquaintance with poetry through music and painting. SCS of Aharnon.
- "Wanted Love…" SCS of Ierapetra.
- Experimental field of biologic cultivation. SCS of Tilisos.
- Social literacy and critical reading of the media. Project of cross-school cooperation of SCSs of Peristeri and Peiraias. SCS of Peristeri and SCS of Neapoli.
- The automatic theatre of Ironos of Alexander. SCS of Pirgos.
- Technical parts of a computer, the appliances and its components, SCS of Tilisos.
- Improvising at the theatrical workshop of SCS of Neapoli, SCS of Neapoli.
- Karagiozis student at the SCS of Pirgos, SCS of Pirgos.
- Visits, thoughts, comments and views about modern art, SCS of Aharnon.
- How could a whole museum fit into a shoe-box? (the visit of SCS of Neapoli in Thessaloniki to the museum of Byzantine civilisation on the 18th of May 2006, world day of celebration of museums), SCS of Neapoli.
- Discussion.

Innovative Activities within the framework of counselling services at the SCSs

- The Socio-cognitive approach at SCSs and the vocational mobility, SCS of Agrinio.
- Anxiety and Employment: Cross-curricular-Experiential workshop of the Counselling Service at the SCS of Ioannina. An experiential act. SCS of Ioannina.
- Promoting the equality of both sexes during the transition from education to employment market, SCS of Neapoli.
- Business dexterity: Economy- Business- Working conditions. A special cross-curricular workshop, SCS of Patra.
- The psychologist as the animator at the first steps of a group/class: examples from experience from groups at the SCS of Giannitsa.
- Discussion.

SCSs and adult education: research approaches-Speculation-suggestions

- A different approach in the organisation of the school place and time, SCS of Tilisos.
- An effort of self-evaluation at the SCS of Aharnon-the union of the educators.
- A study of the students' stance at Mathematics at the Peristeri SCS, SCS of Peristeri.
- An evaluation of the educational work by the students, SCS of Aharnon.

Summative Meeting of Activities of SCSs of D phase

Thematic Unit A: Co-teaching and cross-curricular projects within the framework of literacies

- Ithaki: Process to knowledge. Moments and Memories, SCS of Rethimno.
- The ugly face of Ianos: Lack of cultivation of soul, SCS of Kozani.
- Conjectural impressions at the Judicial Prison SCS of Koridallos, Judicial Prison SCS of Koridallos.
- My words-Our World: Activities caused by the theory of Freire and suggestions for the continuation of SCS, SCS of Chios.
- Kalamata yesterday and today: Bio-climate and architectonic history, SCS of Kalamata.
- The rituals of a Muslim wedding, SCS of Sapes.
- Discussion-Parallel to the presentations, two posters with the titles "Theatre" from SCS of Naousa and "Games for the climate" from SCS of Chios.
- Re-enforcing the Training of educators at SCSs at the level of prefectures: Implementation of a web-based network environment of continuous, systematic and long-distance training of the prefectures of Eastern Macedonia-Thrace and Ionian Islands.
- A study of the modern eating problem through the environmental education, SCS of Katerini.
- E-forum for the support of literacies of the educators at SCSs.
- Energy production through the waves, SCS of Corfu.
- The industrial inheritance of Naousa, SCS of Naousa.

- New Technologies and human communication, SCS of Sparti.
- Discussion-Conclusions.

Thematic Unit B: SCS and local society

- If I could change the world, SCS of Rethimno.
- A museum: A jewel for the prefecture, source of knowledge for the students at SCS, SCS of Kozani.
- Environment Pollution, SCS of Sapes.
- Intervening programmes with a topic the equality of the two sexes (KETHI) SCS of Corfu.
- Participate, Advertise, Link the school with the local society, SCS of Naousa.
- Employment and business values of the students of the SCSs of Naousa and Katerini.
- The gravity of the ending of the school year, SCS of Asso Lehaiou.
- Cross-curricular Project: "I am sorry, I have finished early"(a film), SCS of Chios.
- Discussion-Conclusions.

Thematic Unit C: Counselling Services at SCSs

- The importance of the existence of a psychologist and career advisor for a holistic educational framework: Presentation of a workshop-Intersexual relationships and techniques of solving conflicts, SCS of Sparti.
- Basic guidelines of operation and action of the counselling services of the Judicial Prison SCS of Koridallos, Judicial Prison SCS of Koridallos.
- Skills development and search of employment in the framework of Career counselling.
- Human relationships and communication: Communication in vocational and family relationships. Problems and conflicts, SCS of Katerini.
- Group interaction at SCSs-Examples and implementation of counselling support.
- A game of personality analysis, SCS of Kalamata.

- Workshop of claiming-self-ensuring behaviour, SCS of Asso Lechaiou.
- Counselling support of special population groups at SCSs: Ascertainment and Speculations.
- Discussion-Conclusions.

Training Meeting of Educators at the Judicial Prison SCSs

- Function- Route of development & activities of SCS of Judicial Prison of Koridallos.
- Workshops-Part I, II, III, IV VI: Evaluation-Conclusions.
- Video Show-Plenary Discussion.
- The meaning of drug dependence and the profile of the imprisoned user.
- Views of our Judiciary and Workhouse system.
- The education of special population groups.

Appendix II: Documents used in the Research

Statement of the Research for the Participants
Theodosia Almpanti: Doctoral Research Project

I am currently a PhD student working for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the School of Education, University of Nottingham (UK), under the supervision of Professor Christine Hall and Dr Sarah Speight. My research examines the policy and practice in Second Chance Schools in Greece. The topic of my PhD research project is: A study of policy and practice in Second Chance Schools in Greece with a focus on Teachers' of English Continuing Professional Development and Training.

Purpose of the study

I am particularly interested in tracing the development of the policy of SCSs and understanding the current practice amongst teachers of English in SCSs. I have a particular interest in issues around CPD. The history of the initiative of training in SCSs is important as well as present practice in SCSs, and I hope to supplement my study by visiting SCSs in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace and gathering data from these visits. I will specifically focus on English teachers within the schools.

My research questions are the following:

6) What were the aims of the policy to develop Second Chance Schools in Greece?
7) How did the policy and the schools develop in the decade 2000-2010?
8) What is the experience of teachers of English in SCSs in 2010?
9) What professional support is currently provided for teachers of English at the Second Chance Schools?
10) What kind of theories of literacy and pedagogy do the English teachers use in their classrooms?

From the 25th of October 2010 until the end of February 2011 I will be collecting data from a range of participants, including teachers of English in SCSs, policy makers, scientific advisors, provincial advisors, administrative stakeholders and people responsible for training in SCSs. Data will be gathered using semi-structured personal interviews with myself as facilitator. These will be held at a mutually convenient time and place and will last approx. 45-60minutes. I would like to gain your permission to audio tape the interviews.

What do you have to do?

If you are willing to be involved as a participant, I will ask you to sign a consent form. I will contact with you by your preferred method (i.e. personal e-mail account and/or by mobile phone) to arrange the interview.

What if something goes wrong?/ Who can you complain to

In the unlikely event of a complaint, please initially raise your concerns with me or failing that please contact either one of my supervisors, contact details provided at the end of this sheet.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

This research has received ethical approval from the School of Education. All data generated will be handled according to British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines (www.bera.ac.uk). All data that is collected about you will be kept strictly confidential and anonymised throughout the research process and in any future publications as well as the PhD thesis.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The study findings will be published as part of my PhD thesis in addition to any papers that may be published on my work.

Contact for Further Information

If at any stage during this study you wish to contact me my details are as follows:

Researcher: ttxta5@nottingham.ac.uk and almpanti@otenet.gr, mobile phones 0044(0)7879383726 or 0030-6947208541.

Main supervisor Professor Christine Hall, Head of School of Education, Christine.Hall@nottingham.ac.uk

Second Supervisor Dr Sarah Speight, School of Education, sarah.speight@nottingham.ac.uk

May I take this opportunity to thank you for considering assisting me in my PhD research.

Theodosia Almpanti

Participant Information Sheet in Greek

Θεοδοσία Αλμπάντη: Διδακτορικό ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα

Αυτήν την περίοδο είμαι υποψήφια Διδάκτωρ στη Σχολή Εκπαίδευσης, στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Νόττιγχαμ (Αγγλία), κάτω από τη επίβλεψη της καθηγήτριας Christine Hall και της Δρ. Sarah Speight. Η έρευνά μου εξετάζει την πολιτική και την πρακτική στα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας στην Ελλάδα. Το θέμα του ερευνητικού προγράμματος της διατριβής μου είναι: Μια μελέτη της πολιτικής και της πρακτικής στα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας στην Ελλάδα με εστίαση την επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη και την κατάρτιση των καθηγητών αγγλικών.

Σκοπός της μελέτης

Ενδιαφέρομαι ιδιαίτερα για την επισήμανση της ανάπτυξης της πολιτικής των ΣΔΕ και την κατανόηση της τρέχουσας πρακτικής μεταξύ των καθηγητών αγγλικών στα ΣΔΕ. Έχω ένα ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τα ζητήματα γύρω από τη συνεχιζόμενη επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη. Η ιστορία της πρωτοβουλίας της κατάρτισης στα ΣΔΕ είναι σημαντική καθώς επίσης και η παρούσα πρακτική στα ΣΔΕ, και ελπίζω να συμπληρώσω τη μελέτη μου με την επίσκεψη στα ΣΔΕ στην Ανατολική Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη και τη συγκέντρωση των στοιχείων από αυτές τις επισκέψεις. Θα εστιάσω συγκεκριμένα στους καθηγητές αγγλικών μέσα στα σχολεία.

Οι ερευνητικές ερωτήσεις μου είναι οι ακόλουθες:

1) Ποιοι ήταν οι στόχοι της πολιτικής να αναπτυχθούν τα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας στην Ελλάδα;

2) Πώς αναπτύχθηκαν η πολιτική και τα σχολεία στη δεκαετία 2000-2010;

3) Ποια είναι η εμπειρία των καθηγητών αγγλικής στα ΣΔΕ το 2010;

4) Ποια επαγγελματική υποστήριξη παρέχεται αυτήν την περίοδο για τους καθηγητές των αγγλικών στα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας;

5) Τι είδους θεωρίες της βασικής εκπαίδευσης και της παιδαγωγικής κάνουν χρήση οι καθηγητές αγγλικών στις τάξεις τους;

Από τις 1 Νοεμβρίου 2010 μέχρι το τέλος Φεβρουαρίου 2011 θα συλλέγω τα στοιχεία από μια σειρά συμμετεχόντων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των καθηγητών αγγλικών στα ΣΔΕ, των φορέων χάραξης πολιτικής, των επιστημονικών συμβούλων, των περιφερειακών συμβούλων, των διοικητικών συμμετόχων και των αρμόδιων ανθρώπων για την κατάρτιση στα ΣΔΕ. Τα στοιχεία θα συγκεντρωθούν χρησιμοποιώντας τις ημι-δομημένες προσωπικές συνεντεύξεις με μένα ως βοηθό. Αυτές θα διεξαχθούν σε έναν αμοιβαία κατάλληλο χρόνο και τόπο και θα διαρκέσουν περίπου 45-60λεπτά. Θα επιθυμούσα να μου επιτρέψετε να ηχογραφήσω τις συνεντεύξεις.

Τι πρέπει να κάνετε;

Εάν είστε πρόθυμοι να αναμιχθείτε ως συμμετέχων, θα σας ζητήσω να υπογράψετε ένα έντυπο συγκατάθεσης. Θα έρθω σε επαφή μαζί σας με τη μέθοδο που προτιμάτε (δηλ. με προσωπική διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου ή/και με κινητό τηλέφωνο) για να διευκρινήσουμε τις λεπτομέρειες της συνέντευξης.

Τι εάν κάτι πάει στραβά; /Σε ποιόν μπορείτε να παραπονεθείτε.

Στο απίθανο γεγονός ενός παραπόνου, παρακαλώ αρχικά εκθέστε τις ανησυχίες σας σε μένα ή αν δεν γίνει αυτό, παρακαλώ να έρθετε σε επαφή είτε με την μια ή την άλλη από τις επόπτες μου, λεπτομέρειες επαφών παρέχονται στο τέλος αυτού του φύλλου.

Η συμμετοχή μου σε αυτήν την μελέτη θα κρατηθεί εμπιστευτική;

Αυτή η έρευνα έχει λάβει την ηθική έγκριση από τή Σχολή Εκπαίδευσης. Όλα τα στοιχεία που παράγονται θα αντιμετωπιστούν σύμφωνα με τις βρετανικές εκπαιδευτικές οδηγίες ερευνητικού οργανισμού (BERA) (www.bera.ac.uk). Όλα τα στοιχεία που συλλέγονται για σας θα κρατηθούν αυστηρά εμπιστευτικά και ανώνυμα σε όλη την ερευνητική διαδικασία και σε οποιεσδήποτε μελλοντικές δημοσιεύσεις καθώς επίσης και στη διατριβή.

Τι θα συμβεί στα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας;

Τα συμπεράσματα της μελέτης θα δημοσιευθούν ως τμήμα της διατριβής μου επιπρόσθετα με οποιαδήποτε έγγραφα που μπορεί να δημοσιευθούν πάνω στην εργασία μου.

Επαφή για περισσότερες πληροφορίες

Εάν σε οποιοδήποτε στάδιο κατά τη διάρκεια αυτής της μελέτης επιθυμείτε να έρθετε σε επαφή μαζί μου οι λεπτομέρειές μου είναι οι ακόλουθες:

Ερευνήτρια: ttxta5@nottingham.ac.uk και almpanti@otenet.gr , κινητά τηλέφωνα 0044 (0) 7879383726 ή 0030-6947208541.

Κύριος επόπτης: Καθηγήτρια Christine Hall, Επικεφαλής της Σχολής Εκπαίδευσης, Πανεπιστήμιο του Νότινχαμ Christine.Hall@nottingham.ac.uk

Δεύτερος επόπτης: Δρ. Sarah Speight, Σχολή Εκπαίδευσης, Πανεπιστήμιο του Νότινχαμ sarah.speight@nottingham.ac.uk

Θα ήθελα να σας ευχαριστήσω θερμά για την συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα μου.

Θεοδοσία Αλμπάντη

Participant Consent Form

Project title: A study of policy and practice in Second Chance Schools in Greece with a focus on Teachers' of English Continuing Professional Development and Training

Researcher's name: Theodosia Almpanti

Supervisors' names: Professor Christine Hall& Dr Sarah Speight

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.

- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.

- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.

- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.

- I understand that I will be audiotaped during the interview.

- I understand that data will be stored on the researcher's personal computer and in hard copy in her office. The researcher will have exclusive access to the data, which will be destroyed on completion of the thesis.

- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed .... (research participant)

Print name .... **Date** ....

Contact details

Researcher: Theodosia Almpanti almpanti@otenet.gr and ttxta5@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisors:Pr. Christine Hall Christine.Hall@nottingham.ac.uk & Dr. Sarah Speight Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Participant's Consent Form in Greek
ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΩΝ

Τίτλος Διατριβής: Μια μελέτη της πολιτικής και της πρακτικής στα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας στην Ελλάδα με εστίαση στη συνεχιζόμενη επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη και κατάρτιση των καθηγητών αγγλικών.

Όνομα ερευνήτριας: Θεοδοσία Αλμπάντη

Ονόματα εποπτών»: Καθηγήτρια Christine Hall & η Δρ. Sarah Speight

- Έχω διαβάσει το φύλλο πληροφοριών συμμετεχόντων και η φύση και ο σκοπός του ερευνητικού προγράμματος μου έχει εξηγηθεί. Καταλαβαίνω και συμφωνώ να πάρω μέρος.

- Καταλαβαίνω το σκοπό του ερευνητικού προγράμματος και τη συμμετοχή μου σε αυτό.

- Καταλαβαίνω πως μπορώ να αποσυρθώ από το ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα σε οποιοδήποτε στάδιο και ότι αυτό δεν έχει επιπτώσεις στη θέση μου τώρα ή στο μέλλον.

- Καταλαβαίνω ότι ενώ οι πληροφορίες που λαμβάνονται κατά τη διάρκεια της μελέτης μπορούν να δημοσιευθούν, τα στοιχεία ταυτότητας μου δε θα προσδιοριστούν και τα προσωπικά αποτελέσματά μου θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικά.

- Καταλαβαίνω ότι θα ηχογραφηθώ κατά τη διάρκεια της συνέντευξης.

- Καταλαβαίνω ότι τα δεδομένα θα αποθηκευτούν στον προσωπικό υπολογιστή της ερευνήτριας και σε σκληρό αντίγραφο στο γραφείο της. Η ερευνήτρια θα έχει αποκλειστική πρόσβαση στα δεδομένα, τα οποία θα καταστραφούν με την ολοκλήρωση της διατριβής.

- Καταλαβαίνω ότι μπορώ να έρθω σε επαφή με την ερευνήτρια ή την επόπτρια εάν απαιτήσω περαιτέρω πληροφορίες για την έρευνα, και ότι μπορώ να έρθω σε επαφή με τον Συντονιστή της ερευνητικής ηθικής της Σχολής Εκπαίδευσης, Πανεπιστήμιο του Νόττιγχαμ, εάν επιθυμώ να παραπονεθώ σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή μου στην έρευνα.

Υπογραφή ....

(ερευνητικός συμμετέχων)

Όνομα.. **Ημερομηνία**...............

....

Λεπτομέρειες επαφών

Ερευνήτρια: Θεοδοσία Αλμπάντη <u>almpanti@otenet.gr</u> και <u>ttxta5@nottingham.ac.uk</u>

Επόπτες: Christine Hall <u>Christine.Hall@nottingham.ac.uk</u> & Η Δρ. Sarah Speight <u>Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk</u> Συντονιστής ερευνητικής ηθικής της Σχολής Εκπαίδευσης: <u>educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk</u>

Letter of Request for an Interview

45 Avgoustou Theologiti,

Doxato, Drama, 66300,

Greece.

06/10/2010

Mr Konstadinos Tsamadias,

Dear Mr Tsamadia: 203 central building, El. Venizelou 70, 17671,

Kallithea, Athens,Tel: 2109549244 Email: ctsamad@hua.gr Webpage:

http://www.hua.gr

Re: Request for an Interview

My name is Theodosia Albanti, the ex-head-teacher of Second Chance School in Drama, and I am writing to request an interview to discuss training and professional development of adult educators in Second Chance Schools in Greece as part of your duties within your position as the ex-general secretary of adult education. Your contribution will be valuable to my research as you can provide me with the background of policy making and the implementation of SCSs and more specifically of the training of the adult educators as envisaged from your view. But first, let me give you some details about my research.

I am a PhD student at Nottingham University, in the School of Education. My study aims to assess the continuous professional development of teachers of English in Second Chance Schools and explore the need for the design of in-service training courses for language teachers in the specific adult context. I have two supervisors, Professor Christine Hall, the head of the School of Education, and Professor Sarah Speight from the School of Education. I have 6 years of experience in the field of adult education including Second Chance Schools, centers of adult education, the national center of public management and administration and tertiary education.

I am currently looking for issues that emerge from the implementation of in-service training towards teachers of English at the Second Chance Schools, as part of the total educational development of all the educators at the Second Chance Schools offered by IDEKE (The Institute of Life-Long Learning). I am interested in the provision of the professional support currently provided for teachers of English at the Second Chance Schools, the adequacy or otherwise of this provision, the kind of professional support needed, if there is a perceived gap between the existing provision and teachers' needs, the nature of this gap and suggestions how any gap might be filled.

In our last telephone contact in July 2010 you agreed to give me an interview some time in autumn. Will you please define when it would be convenient for you to have my interview within the first week of November (Monday the 1st to Friday the 5th) as I am returning to Greece at the end of October? Any time will be okay for me as I am coming to Athens for you. The interview will be 45-60 minutes, audio-

recorded and the transcript of your interview will be sent to you as soon as it is ready for you to read it and give me the right to use it as data in my research. If you have any questions or would like more information, please feel free to contact me by phone at 0044-07879383726(English mobile) or 6947208541(Greek mobile). I can also be reached by e-mail at [almpanti@otenet.gr or the University's e-mail: ttxta5@nottingham.ac.uk].

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your cooperation and for agreeing to assist me in my research project to gain my PhD.

Sincerely,

Theodosia Albanti

Letter of Request for an Interview in Greek

Προς κύριο............,

Το όνομά μου είναι Θεοδοσία Αλμπάντη, πρώην διευθύντρια του Σχολείου Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας της Δράμας, και σας γράφω για να σας ζητήσω μια συνέντευξη για να συζητήσουμε για την κατάρτιση και την επαγγελματική ανάπτυξη των εκπαιδευτών ενηλίκων στα Σχολεία Δεύτερης Ευκαιρίας στην Ελλάδα ως μέρος των καθηκόντων σας στο πλαίσιο της θέση σας ως πρώην γενικός γραμματέας της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων. Η συνεισφορά σας θα είναι πολύτιμη για την έρευνα μου καθώς μπορείτε να μου παρέχετε το υπόβαθρο της χάραξης πολιτικής, την ίδρυση των ΣΔΕ και πιο συγκεκριμένα της επιμόρφωσης των εκπαιδευτών ενηλίκων όπως το οραματισθήκατε από την δική σας άποψη. Κατ' αρχάς, επιτρέψτε μου να σας δώσω μερικές λεπτομέρειες σχετικά με την έρευνα μου.

Είμαι φοιτήτρια διδακτορικού στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Nottingham, στη Σχολή Εκπαίδευσης. Η μελέτη μου αποσκοπεί να αξιολογήσει τη συνεχή επαγγελματική εξέλιξη των καθηγητών αγγλικών στα ΣΔΕ και να εξερευνήσει την ανάγκη για το σχεδιασμό των ενδο-υπηρεσιακών εκπαιδευτικών σεμιναρίων για τους καθηγητές ξένων γλωσσών στο συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων. Έχω δύο επόπτες, την καθηγήτρια Christine Hall, την διευθύντρια της Σχολής Εκπαίδευσης, και την καθηγήτρια Sarah Speight από τη Σχολή της Εκπαίδευσης. Επιπλέον, θα ήθελα να επισημάνω πως έχω 6 χρόνια εμπειρίας στον τομέα της εκπαίδευσης ενηλίκων, στα ΣΔΕ, στα Κέντρα Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων, στο Εθνικό Κέντρο Δημόσιας Διοίκησης και στην Τριτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση.

Στην παρούσα φάση, ερευνώ θέματα που θα προκύψουν από την εφαρμογή της ενδο-υπηρεσιακής επιμόρφωσης των καθηγητών Αγγλικών στα ΣΔΕ, ως μέρος της συνολικής εκπαιδευτικής ανάπτυξης όλων των στελεχών των ΣΔΕ που προσφέρονται από το ΙΔΕΚΕ (το

Ινστιτούτο Διαρκούς Εκπαίδευσης Ενηλίκων). Ενδιαφέρομαι για την παροχή της επαγγελματικής υποστήριξης των καθηγητών Αγγλικών στο ΣΔΕ, όπως παρέχεται αυτή τη στιγμή, για την επάρκεια ή όχι αυτής της υπηρεσίας, το είδος της επαγγελματικής υποστήριξης που χρειάζονται, εάν υπάρχει παρατηρούμενο χάσμα μεταξύ των ιδανικών και πραγματικών παραμέτρων και των αναγκών των καθηγητών, τη φύση αυτού του επιδιωκόμενου και πραγματικού χάσματος και προτάσεις για το πώς μπορεί να αμβλυνθεί οποιοδήποτε κενό.

Κατόπιν τηλεφωνικής μας συνομιλίας, συμφωνήσατε να μου δώσετε μια συνέντευξη κάποια στιγμή το Νοέμβριο. Θα σας παρακαλούσα να ορίσετε πότε ακριβώς θα είναι βολικό για σας να μου δώσετε την συνέντευξη κατά την διάρκεια της πρώτης εβδομάδας του Νοεμβρίου (Δευτέρα 1η έως Πέμπτη 4 Νοεμβρίου), καθώς επιστρέφω στην Ελλάδα στις 20 Οκτωβρίου! Επιλέξτε οποιαδήποτε ώρα σας βολεύει καθώς έρχομαι στην Αθήνα για εσάς. Η συνέντευξη θα διαρκέσει 45-60λεπτά, θα ηχογραφηθεί και το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο της συνέντευξης θα σας σταλεί αμέσως μόλις για να την διαβάσετε και να σας βεβαιώσω ότι εξακολουθείτε να χρησιμοποιείτε τα ψευδώνυμα στην έρευνά μου. Εάν έχετε οποιεσδήποτε ερωτήσεις ή θέλετε περισσότερες πληροφορίες, μη διστάσετε να επικοινωνήσετε μαζί μου μέσω τηλεφώνου στο 0044-07879383726(Αγγλικό κινητό) ή 6947720854(Ελληνικό κινητό). Επίσης η επικοινωνία μας μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μέσω ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου στο [almpanti@otenet.gr ή στο e-mail του Πανεπιστημίου: ttxt5@nottingham.ac.uk].

Επιτρέψτε μου να σας ευχαριστήσω για τη συνεργασία σας και για το ότι συμφωνήσατε να με βοηθήσετε στο έργο της έρευνάς μου για την απόκτηση του διδακτορικού μου.

Με Τιμή,

Θεοδοσία Αληνάττη

Appendix III: Interview Schedules

Schedule of Questions for the Interview of the General Secretaries of Adult Education

1) I know you have held many important posts. Would you be kind enough to tell me what those posts were?
2) When you came into office, what was your impression of the state of adult education in Greece?
3) Why do you think that?
4) Could you tell me about your involvement in the development of the policy on SCSs?
5) You inherited the policy when you became Secretary General in 2004. Did you change and develop it in any way?
6) I am particularly interested in the training offered to teachers in SCSs. Could you talk to me about how training for these teachers came on to the policy agenda?
7) How did the policy on training develop over your period in office?
8) Was there any research that suggested this was necessary?
9) Which people were particularly important in influencing training for the adult educators?
10) In terms of the content of the training?
11) In terms of who should provide it?
12) What was the role of regional advisers? What was their participation in training? (why did their role stop being active after 2007?)
13) I'm looking particularly at the training in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. Have you got any particular thoughts or memories about the training in that region?
14) What exactly was the role of the scientific advisors?
15) Did they have overall responsibility/ were they coordinators of workshops?
16) How were they selected?
17) Did they present you with issues, or a full training plan?
18) Why did their role stop being active after 2007?
19) How did the curriculum for the SCSs develop?
20) Were there any problems in the curriculum development stages?
21) Can I ask you about the organisation and implementation of training? How was it organised, by whom and when?

22) Was the training funded?

23) European funds or national resources?

24) Did you encounter any practical difficulties in getting the training up and running? E.g. the financial expenses, the places, transferring and the hospitality of the teachers in hotels?

25) Were you happy with the number of sessions offered?

26) How was the content of the training determined?

27) Were the teachers involved in deciding what training they needed?

28) Was the training intended for all teachers?

29) What is your view on the learning of foreign language by adult students?

30) Can you tell me about the establishment of the register of adult trainers and the training platform for on-line distant training?

31) Is it generic?

32) Would there be any specific training for teachers of English?

33) Why is it that the register of KEENAP has not yet been implemented?

34) Could you comment on the pace of educational innovation in Greece?

35) What do you think about the future of SCSs?

36) Will the current economic climate change current priorities in SCSs?

Interview Schedule of the two Scientific Advisors of Teachers of English

1. There are some very important dates in the decade of 2000-2010. What are the challenges of SCS's in Greece?
2. From your experience as professors at Kapodestrian University could you tell me a little about the training of teachers of English now and in the past?
3. Are there any specific courses on adult education for undergraduate students at the university now?
4. Do you perceive that there is a theoretical gap in training on adult education between the University years and starting working in Second Chance Schools?
5. Is there a differentiation between those who graduated 20 or 25 years ago and those who are graduating now?
6. Do you think there should be public in-service professional development sessions for teachers of English working for some years, catering for innovations like SCSs or anything else?
7. From your experience as an academic and scientific advisor at SDE can you give me some feedback on training of teachers of English as part of in-service professional development?
8. When and how did you get involved in SCSs training?
9. What were the criteria for being chosen as SCSs scientific advisors?
10. Did you have any directions on training from the general Secretary of Adult Education?
11. Who was responsible for the training sessions, when and where to be held?
12. Who was responsible for the topics of the training sessions?
13. Did you decide yourself about the content of the training sessions or were there any directions from IDEKE?
14. How long did the training sessions last?
15. Why weren't more frequent and covering all teachers?
16. Did you have a teachers' needs analysis?
17. Did you work on what the teachers needed or on what directions you had from IDEKE?

18. What happened if the teachers needed extra help in the curriculum creation or learning difficulties?

19. Were you satisfied by the material that was created by the teachers of English? Did you help in the creation of new material through a specific training course or did that depend on the teachers and their knowledge?

20. What was the complaint that most teachers had when they started working at SDE?

21. What was the positive aspect of their active participation in the process of creating the curriculum for SDE?

22. How about the learning difficulties and the obstacles adult students had in learning a foreign language? Did you provide any specific help in relation to this issue?

23. How could you help them in 57 schools all around Greece?

24. What kind of feedback could you give me on the pros and cons of these training meetings? Give me two positive and two negative points or if there are more you can refer to more.

25. What was your general impression of these training sessions? Were they helpful? If you evaluated the process not yourselves, how would you evaluate them?

26. After two years with no training sessions at SCSs, reflecting on the whole venture, what could you improve if you were asked to take the responsibility to deal with training of teachers at SCSs on a permanent basis?

27. What content would you include and what would be your priority?

28. What kind of training model would be more effective in order to cover all teachers' needs?

29. Apart from your written reports have you any more comments or suggestions on those training meetings that we had?

30. Were they enough, in length, coverage and duration? Should there be more?

31. What are your hopes and beliefs about what will happen to the SCS sector in the next few years?

32. Will the current economic climate change current priorities in SCSs?

Interview Schedule of Questions to Teachers of English at Second Chance Schools

1) Can you tell me where you worked before and how you ended up in this school?
2) What is your background in teaching?
3) What are the best things about teaching in an SCS?
4) What are the main challenges you face as a teacher in an SCS?
5) Are there any specific difficulties or frustrations?
6) Do you think the development of the SCS policy has been a good thing for Greece?
7) Has it operated effectively in this region?
8) Have you been well-prepared in your job?
9) What CPD did you have for becoming an SCS teacher initially? In-service?
10) How helpful were those training sessions?
11) Can you be specific about the help that you got?
12) Has the training directly affected your teaching?
13) What was the content of the training?
14) Were you consulted about what you needed in the training?

15) Did you have the chance to exchange experience and views on teaching English during your training? Was that helpful to you? Why?
16) Were the training methods effective in presenting the relative issues?
17) Was the training long enough?
18) Have you had support from the scientific advisors?
19) What CPD is available to you now?
20) What support do you have in school?
21) How would you describe the kind of teacher you are?
22) What do you think is important in teaching English? What is your general approach/ philosophy? Are there any theories about teaching and learning that are important to you? (Any specifically about teaching adults?)
23) Is there anything that you have read, that has been important to you in developing as a teacher of English?

24) Are you trying anything new in your teaching now?

25) Do you know anything about critical literacy?

26) Generally what kind of professional support do you think is needed for teachers of English at Second Chance Schools?

27) Do you want to participate in more professional development?

28) Do you have the necessary time to participate in professional development opportunities?

29) Do you think there should be an induction professional development programme for adult educators?

30) Do you think there should be regular professional development programmes during the school year?

31) Would online professional development options suit your needs?

32) Would you like to see the CPD accredited?

33) Are there any other suggestions how might your professional development needs be covered?

34) Are you intending to stay in SCSs as a teacher?

Appendix IV: The New-Life-Long Learning Policy in Greece (2010) at www.gsae.edu.gr

GS4 was referring to the new life-long learning policy that had been finalised in June 2010 and the key features of it were:

• Substantial and pervasive growth of adult participation in Life-Long learning activities

• Increase of national participation in the general adult education through activities in Life-Long learning
• Increase of adult participation in continuing vocational training

• Creation of a single national framework for evaluation and certification for all forms of adult education and training

• Establishment of a single national framework of qualifications recognition and certification of knowledge, skills, abilities

• Systematic detection and diagnosis of the needs of the labour market
• Ensuring the right on every citizen to access to all of those training activities, aimed at integrating man with an emphasis on socially vulnerable and socially vulnerable groups

• Permanent and substantial training of adult educators
• Quality assurance

• Development of new pedagogies

• Streamlining and transparency of qualifications
• Streamlining of the grid operators and institutions

• Rational allocation and utilization of community resources.

Η Νέα Πολιτική της Διά Βίου Μάθησης
at www.gsae.edu.gr

Η νέα Πολιτική εντάσσεται στον ευρύτερο ανασχεδιασμό του αναπτυξιακού μοντέλου της Ελλάδας με αποστολή να δώσει ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στο προφίλ γνώσεων, ικανοτήτων και δεξιοτήτων του ανθρώπινου δυναμικού.
Συγχρόνως, προσβλέπει στο να παράσχει μια ολοκληρωμένη προσέγγιση για τη διά βίου μάθηση με όρους κοινωνικής δικαιοσύνης, την παροχή δηλαδή μέσω της διά βίου μάθησης του δημόσιου αγαθού της παιδείας σε όλους τους πολίτες και ειδικότερα σε όσους το έχουν περισσότερη ανάγκη.

Θεμελιώδης επιδίωξη είναι η αναβάθμιση της διά βίου μάθησης. Συγκεκριμένα:

• Ουσιαστική και καταλυτική αύξηση της συμμετοχής ενηλίκων σε δραστηριότητες διά βίου μάθησης
• Αύξηση της εθνικής συμμετοχής στην γενική εκπαίδευση ενηλίκων μέσα από τις δραστηριότητες στη διά βίου μάθηση
• Αύξηση της συμμετοχής ενηλίκων στη συνεχιζόμενη επαγγελματική κατάρτιση
• Δημιουργία ενιαίου εθνικού πλαισίου αξιολόγησης και πιστοποίησης για όλες τις μορφές εκπαίδευσης και κατάρτισης ενηλίκων
• Συγκρότηση ενιαίου εθνικού πλαισίου αναγνώρισης επαγγελματικών προσόντων και πιστοποίησης γνώσεων, δεξιοτήτων, ικανοτήτων
• Συστηματοποίηση της ανίχνευσης και διάγνωσης των αναγκών της αγοράς εργασίας
• Διασφάλιση του δικαιώματος σε κάθε πολίτη στην πρόσβαση σε όλες εκείνες τις επιμορφωτικές δραστηριότητες, που στοχεύουν στην ολοκλήρωση της προσωπικότητάς του με έμφαση στις κοινωνικά ευπαθείς και κοινωνικά ευάλωτες ομάδες
• Διαρκής και ουσιαστική επιμόρφωση των εκπαιδευτών ενηλίκων
• Διασφάλιση της ποιότητας
• Ανάπτυξη νέων παιδαγωγικών μεθόδων
• Εξορθολογισμός και σαφήνεια των προσόντων
• Εξορθολογισμός του πλέγματος σχετικών φορέων και θεσμών
• Ορθολογική κατανομή και αξιοποίηση των κοινοτικών πόρων

Νόμος 3879/2010: Ανάπτυξη της Δια Βίου Μάθησης και λοιπές διατάξεις